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Group Counselling In Correctional Practice

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Introduction

This paper is concerned with the program of group counselling which has been expanded extensively since 1954 in the prisons of the State of California. Recent statistics indicate that almost 9,000 inmates are registered in the program. Group counselling has also been introduced into some of the jails and honour farms of California under county or local supervision. Leaders in juvenile correctional work and in probation have also begun similar activities. I am restricting myself in this paper to the program in the California prisons.

To begin with, we are not fully satisfied with the term *group counselling*. Recently, the term *correctional counselling* has been considered as a substitute. This might bring our work closer to other specific types of individual or group counselling, such as marriage counselling or vocational counselling, which are in common use. These are not so closely associated as is group psychotherapy with the clinical specialists, trained in psychology, psychiatry and psychiatric social work. Until a more satisfactory term is found, we shall continue, as in this instance, to use the term group counselling.

Change of Outlook in the Institution

Group counselling, as it has been developed in the prisons of California, may contain potentialities of an extraordinary character for the advancement of the philosophy and especially of the every day management and operation of the adult correctional institution. Primarily, the change may be based upon the participation of the rank-and-file employees as valued and respected colleagues in the treatment program. Group counselling offers new viewpoints and additional functions for all correctional workers. The older, more conventional duties of correctional officers, vocational instructors, maintenance foremen and other employees, which they currently perform, may be fortified and made more constructive by their participation in group counselling. Psychologists, psychiatrists and social caseworkers may need to revise their attitudes toward these lay colleagues on the staff. They may want to adjust their own procedures in treating inmates to accord with the broader base of the treatment program which may evolve as group counselling becomes accepted practice in the prison.

The primary locale of some phases of the psychological treatment program may move from the clinical centre to all places in the institution where inmates are in contact with employees. The thoughtful guidance and steering of the program may still come from the clinical centre. The actual points of contact of the treatment program will, however, be wherever inmates are in personal relationship, no matter how superficial, with employees of the prison.

As a secondary aspect of this revolutionary change in outlook, there must evolve a new type of prison employee, the true correctional worker. Top management will have to reorient their attitudes toward subordinate employees, respecting and accepting them as equal participants in the work of the institution. Rank may no longer be the measure of value in the program. Instead, the employee will be valuable, whatever his location in the prison hierarchy, in terms of his capacity to relate himself constructively to an inmate as one human being to another. All employees must consider *as their primary task* the providing of a wholesome environment for personality growth for the inmates; and this would apply equally to those in charge of work crews, cell blocks, clerical pools and class-rooms. Optimism toward the future of the inmate must replace the pessimism which has hung like a pall over the life of the prison.

The above does not mean that custodial care and security precautions should be discounted by prison workers. Unrealistic enthusiasm for a new program, if it results in a lowering of the normally necessary security measures, is a serious error in prison management. It is based upon the delusion that all inmates are going to be appreciative and co-operative. This naïveté overlooks the minority of seriously disturbed prisoners who may take advantage of our warm-hearted and hopeful enthusiasm for a new program. On the contrary, the staff should be acutely aware of the cost to the inmates of escape or other infractions of institutional rules. Gradually, it is hoped, these instances of uncontrolled responses to over-powering feelings by inmates will become less frequent in the treatment institution. Preliminary statistical reports, notably from the California institutions utilizing group counselling, seem to confirm this hope.

It is unreasonable for us to anticipate, as the treatment philosophy permeates the adult correctional institution as a whole, that some day men in prison may have the same attitudes toward the staff, the same expectation of treatment, as do patients in a well-run general hospital or those in any other good institution? When this happens, the ever-present concern of prison workers over security against escapes and riots will no longer, like quicksand, undermine and threaten the foundations of the treatment program. Will the prison ever achieve sufficient maturity so that these anxieties are no longer the basis for rationalizing the postponement of the introduction of new measures for treatment?

The Procedure Itself

Group counselling resembles earlier types of group treatment in that the sessions are informal and permissive. The inmates and the group leader are seated in a circle. Those who conduct groups may be of any classification of employee, including correctional officers — who constitute about sixty per cent of the group leaders — accountants, associate wardens, captains, clerical workers, maintenance foremen, academic or vocational teachers. At San Quentin, one very successful group has been conducted by a woman nurse. Experience at Folsom has demonstrated values in dual leadership, when two employees have collaborated in the conduct of a group. The groups meet weekly for one hour and a half. The locations are varied and include special counselling rooms, shops, offices, or even outdoors. I met with one group at Folsom in the plush setting of the board room and with another in a storage shack where the participants sat on barrels, boxes and sacks of cement.

No fixed or routine procedures have been sought. Instead, an emphasis has been placed upon the spontaneous activities of the inmates, who are usually encouraged to start the discussions on their own initiative. The activities are limited to the oral expression of feelings and attitudes. "Acting out" behaviour is not permitted. Interestingly enough, fights or other disturbances have never been reported, although there have been occasions when strong feelings were expressed. It is impressive that in thousands of hours of group meetings, these rank-and-file employees have been sensitive enough to understand and control the expressions of inmate feelings so that no custodially undesirable behaviour has been reported.

There is no universal pattern for groups, no fixed model to copy. Even the size of the groups is not uniform; some may consist of ten inmates or less, others of fifteen or more. For work crews or vocational classes in which attendance of inmates and employees is required, the size may be as large as twenty-five. Experience has shown about twelve inmates comprise a good group, although local circumstances or the special composition of inmates in the group may make necessary a larger or smaller group.

Training of Group Leaders

A period of training, two months or longer, has generally been required before leaders are assigned to groups. This has included observations of at least eight one-hour demonstration sessions of group counselling, and discussions thereafter usually lasting about half an hour or longer. An introductory textbook for employees has been prepared,

entitled "Group Counselling in State Correctional Service". The text prepared for the inmates is called "What Will be Your Life?" Because of the interest of other jurisdictions in introducing group counselling and the fact that the law does not permit the Department of Corrections of California to give or sell the books in quantity, these two source books have been reprinted for sale by the American Correctional Association, 135 East 14th Street, New York 3, New York. The Association receives all receipts from their sale.

Despite the uniformity of training, each leader approaches his new group differently. Some employees are used to talking before groups, and consequently feel freer to start the first sessions. Others are not as skilled or experienced in group discussion. They may be more fearful and threatened by the idea of leading a group. The textbook on group counselling for employees attempts to give concrete instructions for starting a new group. For example, they are told how to use a list of questions read orally, or mimeographed, or written upon a blackboard, in order to start a discussion.

If the leader's interest is sincere, then experience has shown the initial meeting and those that follow will work out satisfactorily. Within limits, each leader may develop his own procedures. The group leader is advised to recognize the uniqueness of his group and not try to copy the detailed operation of another group. At the same time, the group leader must be aware of the certain-to-be periods of lesser activity of the group, when the sessions seem to drag, and know how to handle the pauses when nothing is said. Professional supervision, about which more will be said later, is provided and has been valuable in helping group leaders with these and other problems.

Introduction and Subsequent Planning

Whether to introduce group counselling depends upon local interest and competence. If the head of the institution and his immediate subordinates are skeptical and unreceptive to any new program, group counselling should start with just one or two groups. It may perhaps even be postponed until their understanding and acceptance have improved.

If the program is accepted for trial, some essential administrative conditions need to be met if it is to prosper. Firstly, there should be an advisory committee composed of top management. Usually the warden or superintendent should act as chairman. The general operation of the program should be cleared by this committee so that the program has high administrative sanction in every department of the institution. There

are obvious psychological values in this provision. All areas of the institution, especially the custodial staff, are thereby accepted as equal partners in the treatment project. Another impressive value of group counselling has been the recruitment of persons of goodwill in the division of business management to participate in the treatment program.

Secondly, a co-ordinator should be selected on the basis of his training in casework and his knowledge of human personality. The capacity for developing good personal relationships with others is an important qualification of the co-ordinator. In the beginning, he may have responsibility for the details of the program, such as registration, attendance, withdrawal, and arrangements for rooms and for the use of motion pictures. Later, his functions may be more general, after the detailed arrangements are assigned elsewhere, preferably to the custodial staff.

Thirdly, the detailed operation of the program should be worked out in mutual goodwill by the co-ordinator with the custodial and other middle management personnel. The custodial staff may need to learn to accept the idea that group counselling is as much their function as of the so-called treatment employees. In years to come, a primary value of group counselling may have proved to be its assistance in the abolition of the costly dichotomy of custody and treatment. Everybody in the institution should have been helped to co-ordinate their efforts as equal partners in the treatment of inmates.

Fourthly, the first group leaders should preferably volunteer for participation in the program. They are then more likely to be genuinely interested in the inmates. They should be mature enough in their own personalities to be able to accept spoken hostilities toward authority by the inmates, including themselves, without the need to feel sorry for themselves, or to punish the inmates. There are also other psychological values in starting the program with volunteers.

Fifthly, the assignment of an employee trainee who has completed the course to a group is made selectively in terms of his own activities in the prison and his daily schedule. Thus, academic or vocational teachers may conduct a group consisting of their own students. Likewise, a shop foreman or accountant may be assigned his own work crew.

Correctional officers have conducted groups during their work week or on overtime. For over a year, line officers and other employees at Folsom and other prisons volunteered to conduct their groups without compensation, since none was provided in the budget. Recently, those conducting groups have received the customary overtime compensation. It is monumental testimony to the goodwill of ordinary employees (and their therapeutic potentialities) that scores of them for many months conducted

groups without compensation, on their own time, and some even interrupted their vacations to return and meet their groups. It should be added that their initial participation in group counselling has been recorded in personnel files and subsequently in their yearly civil service performance reports. These reports of performance have been countersigned by their own regular supervisors as well as by the co-ordinator of group counselling. This symbolized the way in which group counselling has insinuated itself into the management of the prison.

Sixthly, the program of group counselling, to be successful anywhere, must provide for continuous training. Since many problems are faced by group leaders in their daily work, the provision of supervision has been a basic necessity. Group leaders have therefore been assigned supervisors from the experienced professional correctional leadership or from the clinical staff. The supervisors have tried to help the group leaders not only with their immediate problems in the conduct of the group, but also to recognize the need to look forward to lifelong study of human personality in connection with their group counselling and other relationships with inmates.

Some Objectives of Group Counselling

If group counselling is reasonably well carried on in an institution, what results may be expected?

First, there may be some obvious informal educational values. The inmates may profit from participation in group discussions under friendly and permissive auspices. Such occasions offer them socially acceptable experiences. The informality of the group meetings may lead to wholesome recreational effects.

The development of a group setting for the inmates to study their own and each other's feelings and attitudes under the helpful and accepting auspices of the group leader is a second valuable accomplishment. Group counselling, as herein described, was used in the California prisons after preliminary experiments, first in the reception guidance centres and later at Folsom, using other than clinically trained employees, indicated the values of group counselling procedures. The clinical personnel have found that their own work has been more effective, because in the supervision of the group leaders they have, through discussions, developed a broader appreciation by the line officials of the functions and potential contributions of psychiatrists and psychologists.

A third achievement of group counselling is that it has assisted inmates to recognize that their own problems are not unique. Others who may never enter prison have the same distortions of feelings. Therefore, they may profit from seeing how others strive to face and deal with their problems. In some instances, the feelings expressed by others in

the group may arouse an awareness in the listeners of similar but hitherto unrecognized feelings in themselves. Some inmates have great difficulty in the acceptance of the concept that their lack of control of impulses originating in their feelings may be largely responsible for their criminal behaviour. In other words, they are resistive to the idea that people do not always consciously and knowingly control their own actions. They are confused by self-depreciation and misled by the older concepts of will and will power. The inmate may gain in group counselling a greater understanding of his own personal problems. He may achieve a better understanding of the circumstances of his past life and the influences which affect him in his present situation in prison. Essentially, when group counselling is helpful, it offers a growth experience for the inmate, a growth of more mature attitudes towards himself and towards others.

The effectiveness of group counselling for the treatment of prison inmates is also determined by the morale of the group; that is, the strength of the antidote to rejection, the mutual acceptance within the group. The good feeling, encouragement and thoughtful reception of each other's statements about themselves and their lives within the group are fundamental for the effectiveness of the program. There may develop an exceptionally fine quality of helpful camaraderie within the group.

Group counselling has seemed, as a fourth accomplishment, to help inmates to adjust to those frustrations which are an unalterable part of prison life, as a prelude to better adjustment to the certain-to-be frustrations after release to society. This may be done by patient and calm discussions among the group of the conditions of institutional living and of the reasons for various rules and regulations which are imposed by the prison authorities. Or there may be group discussions with expressions of strong hostile feelings about the conditions of life in prison, such as the food, the rules and regulations, or the actions of the parole authority. The need may be understood by the inmates, as they grow in maturity through these frank discussions, for the tolerance of the unavoidable frustrations of prison life and the related and rather similar need for self-control in the face of unpleasant circumstances after release from prison.

Inmates are permitted to tell about their grievances or to express hostilities toward perhaps seemingly unnecessary frustrations in prison life with diminishing fear or anxiety as they become more secure in the presence of the accepting, non-punishing group leader. Those who do not talk may also profit from the effects upon them of being present while other inmates in the group are permitted to express their hostilities. The group leaders' permissiveness toward their expressions of hostility toward him or the prison administration or toward authority figures elsewhere serves as a model of permissiveness for the inmates when they begin their own criticisms of each other.

Group counselling has a fifth accomplishment when it permits the inmate to learn about his social personality, how he affects others. In the permissive setting of group counselling, he may be told frankly about his shortcomings by his fellow inmates, not by those in authority. Incidentally, this type of spontaneous appraisal of each other is carried on in other groups who assemble sometimes socially, as in the college dormitory, and who agree to be frank in their appraisal of each other as persons. Both good traits and undesirable ones are reported by the group to the individual. This experience has been very helpful to some inmates in their growth toward self-understanding.

On the positive side, the efforts of the group leaders and the other inmates to enhance the inmate's basic self-esteem are also important because in this area may sometimes be found a notable deficiency in their personalities. Justified praise and commendation by others in the group may be counteractive to the humiliations suffered by prisoners in jail or prison which are destructive of personality.

As a sixth value, group counselling may help the inmate understand the world of make-believe, of phantasy, and how costly a part it may play in his social adjustment. A disturbed, unhappy individual anywhere may find relief in day-dreaming. The inmate's day-dreaming is more costly to him because it may lead to criminal behaviour and to prison, as Healy and Bronner¹ indicated three decades ago. Control of actions arising from day-dreaming which is affected by disturbances of feeling, is a serious problem which faces the inmate who wants to leave prison and not return. Discussions in counselling sessions and material presented in the inmate text may be helpful through their emphasis upon his casual relationship.

The group leader may also be helpful to the inmates in ways that individual counsellors are usually expected to be. When inmates come to them with practical problems, group leaders may answer their questions or they may obtain the assistance of the staff members most likely to be helpful. They are instructed how and when to consult other members of the staff since these problems may involve such diversified matters as vocational ambitions, the welfare of relatives, the hobby program or an interest in religion.

Some Tentative Conclusions

It is still too early to evaluate whether group counselling constitutes, as some have optimistically declared, a "break-through" in prison management affording a genuine and fundamental advance in the treatment of prison inmates. Preliminary evidence seems to indicate some actual and many potential values to group counselling for the inmates of adult

correctional institutions. A preliminary summary of some of these values, reported with an understandable enthusiasm and hopefulness, may be offered as follows:

- (1) The initial effects of the group counselling program have been most striking in the reported improvements of institutional morale. In the walled institution, as well as those of lesser custody, observers have noted subsequent to the introduction of group counselling, and attributed by them to it in no small part, less tension among inmates, less obscenity, fewer custodially undesirable incidents, such as fights, inter-racial conflicts, and the like. As they have gone about in the institutions, these observers have noted evidences of more friendly feeling between inmates and staff members.
- (2) Initial statistical studies indicate significantly fewer disciplinary actions among the inmates in group counselling. In a preliminary study at Folsom, twelve per cent of those on the waiting-lists for several months, who never entered the program and were used as controls, had disciplinary action. Seventeen per cent of the inmates neither requesting nor participating in group counselling were disciplined. Only six per cent of the men in group counselling were subjected to disciplinary action. These findings have been confirmed by informal studies in other institutions. As would be expected, there have been reports of improvements in many individual inmates in group counselling. Some of these changes in problem inmates have been especially notable. These are in contrast to the minority who have not changed or seemed even to deteriorate while in a group. Considerable research is now in process and on the drawing boards, to evaluate further these findings and to study other effects of group counselling upon inmate adjustment. Preliminary results seem to reflect evidence favouring a belief in the improvement of personal attitudes and adjustment among those who have participated with sincerity in group counselling.
- (3) The striking innovation which group counselling has made to prison operation has been the participation of all classifications of employees in the group counselling program. Instead of the dichotomy of custodial staff and treatment personnel, there is gradually developing a new type of employee, the genuine correctional worker who is involved both in the security and routine management of the prison and is also accepted as a respected member of the treatment staff. This newer type of correctional officer may be the most important contribution of

group counselling to the correctional practice. The inclusion of the staff of the business department of the institution in the treatment program is a related feature.

- (4) From the standpoint of the effects upon group leaders it is of interest that vocational teachers, shop foremen, and others report, after group counselling has begun, some notable gains in courtesy, and friendliness toward themselves and among the inmates of their groups. For one thing, the inmates come to them more freely for advice. For another, the isolates become more friendly and sociable and are accepted better by the group. Morale in the shop is improved with consequent better care of equipment and supplies and improved production. Employees have reported their own greater satisfaction and interest and improved well-being in their work. The correctional officers, especially, have found the experience most profitable to themselves. It is interesting, parenthetically, that the inmates have themselves shown an interest in furthering the adjustment of employees conducting groups.
- (5) The members of the staff engaged as group leaders have reported advantages to themselves personally from their participation in the group counselling. These have included not only greater job satisfactions but also better morale in their homes. There is also some authoritative support for the belief that more desirable employees recruited for the custodial staff, would have left prison work if they had merely been assigned to guard duty and other routines. Instead, some report that they have remained because of the opportunity for participation in correctional treatment offered by group counselling.
- (6) As regards the carry-over to parole, it is still too early to report satisfactorily. The group counselling program has been in operation too short a time. The number of variables involved in the scientific evaluation of adjustment of parolees are so many and diversified that caution is necessary in studying the carry-over values of group counselling for community living. One feature which some field parole officers have noted is an easier initial rapport with men who have had group counselling in prison. But this, too, is subjective and needs further study for verification.
- (7) Finally, a significant accomplishment of group counselling which has been reported to many observers, is the improvement of the emotional climate of the institution, a transformation

of the prison which has led to its becoming more like a therapeutic community. Group counselling is valuable because it has advanced the treatment program in the prison by enlisting the interest and support of the entire staff. To progress toward the treatment institution, a sympathetic desire must be present in all personnel to help the inmates in their efforts at self-understanding and self-control.

The most advanced prisons of today are places where every reasonable consideration is given to the inmates as human beings in trouble. The treatment resources contributed by employees in education, vocational training, religion, medicine, industries, maintenance, recreation, psychology, psychiatry, social work and other disciplines, as well as the thoughtful and considerate conduct of the housekeeping and custodial operations, are utilized in these places as constructively as financial and architectural resources permit. Group counselling may advance the treatment program of the good institutions by adding a procedure which tries to meet the needs of inmates for personality development through the use of group dynamics at the grass roots level. The mutual acceptance of inmates and employees in the good prison of today may therefore be further enhanced by group counselling.

I believe, however, that the prison can never become a truly therapeutic community, until the employees concerned with custody and maintenance join in a united program with those just mentioned, who are responsible for the other phases of welfare and treatment. Then and only then, may we have an affirmative answer to the question raised earlier in this paper whether inmates in the prison may ever have the same hopeful expectations for constructive treatment as do persons who today enter the superior general hospitals in our communities.

¹ Healy and Bronner. *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: MacMillan, 1926.

M. Fenton, ancien assistant-directeur du Département of Corrections en Californie, décrit le programme de thérapie collective dans les prisons de l'Etat. Le personnel à tous les niveaux, y compris le groupe administratif, agit comme dirigeants. Un des résultats de cette méthode est la réduction d'énergies perdues par la séparation des procédés de garde et de traitement. De plus, les détenus apprennent à mieux se connaître eux-mêmes par l'examen réciproque de leurs problèmes.

An Experiment in the Rehabilitation of Women Offenders

MAURICE FLINT

Andrew Mercer Reformatory
Toronto

Some few years ago the Department of Reform Institutions of Ontario set aside and equipped a private house in the grounds of the Mercer Reformatory as a Rehabilitation Centre. Into this centre selected cases were chosen from the resident populace of the Reformatory to spend the last thirty days of their sentences in an open-door hostel, while receiving concentrated rehabilitative orientation from both psychologists and social workers. A group of some eight persons composed the resident group in the new hostel and they were in the care of matrons from the custodial staff twenty-four hours each day. The staff responsible for rehabilitative procedures visited the hostel to undertake their duties during the eight hour working day.

This work was written up in *Federal Probation*, September 1957, by Lorraine O'Donnell Williams, under the title "Short-term Treatment of Women: An Experiment". This research was confined to a study of forty-four inmates who comprised the population of that treatment unit from November 1955 to August 1956. Anyone interested in this past experiment can refer to that report and I shall refer only to the quoted results:

After one year of operation we recorded that out of 44 patients treated, 25 were successfully treated, using the criterion of reconviction or non reconviction. This means success with 56.8 per cent of our case load. Breaking this down further, we learned that 45.7 per cent of our recidivists were successfully treated and 88.9 per cent of our first offenders. (Our recidivists had comprised 79.5 per cent of our population.) This fact confirmed our beliefs that segregation of first offenders from recidivists (a policy we did not follow in the clinic) was non-essential. In fact, we often felt that the recidivist offered a good prognostic picture to the first offender, as an example of the eventual consequences of a life of criminal activity.

Do these figures imply that we should forget the recidivist and concentrate on the first offender? In a sense, yes, although we must remember that first offenders by their very essence are more treatable. It is to the recidivist who has so long been neglected in the area of penal reform that we should bow our heads in homage as witness to the tremendous effort they have put in to help themselves. In view of the brief treatment time, the longevity of the criminal pattern, and the nature of the crimes of our recidivists, we were quite impressed with the percentage of those who were not reconvicted.

Here, then, we have a report of a successful experiment in the short term treatment of women offenders, and it was with this background that the more recent experiment, which is the subject of this presentation, was commenced.

Firstly, it must be borne in mind that the earlier experiment was discontinued; in the words of the reformatory population "the square gave up". For almost two years the physical facilities lay fallow. One attempt was made to recommence the work but changes in staff brought the effort to an end.

Secondly, a number of lessons were learned from the past experiments which coloured the renewed efforts here. These were:

Some members missed the fellowship of the larger societal grouping in the Reformatory with its special activities. etc.

Some found the small rehabilitative group too confining and too intense in its emotional demands upon individual members.

Communication and relationships between the resident group, the custodial staff and the day workers, proved at times both difficult and even disruptive to the fuller purpose of the group.

The thirty-day period may have been insufficient for the true purpose of the experiment.

In view of some of these factors it was determined in July 1958 to re-initiate rehabilitative procedures using the same facilities, but obviating some of the above problems.

The leader chosen for this new effort was the part-time Protestant chaplain of the reformatory, who has been in contact with the staff and residents there since 1953. He is a graduate of the University College, Toronto; Wycliffe College, Toronto; and Boston University Graduate School. He holds a Master's Degree in Psychology and Religion, and is completing the last requirement for a Ph.D. in Psychology and Pastoral Care. He has had experience as a Senior Teaching Fellow in the Graduate School and has had practical experience in two mental hospitals and in the Judge Baker Guidance Clinic in Boston. His religious activities had included ten hours of individual interviewing each week in the evening hours when the girls were free, and Sunday religious services. He is responsible for all Protestant personnel and invites all newcomers to meet with him personally at least once, but no compulsion or social pressures are ever used or permitted in establishing these relationships. Any newcomer is permitted to turn down the interview, or to arrange it according to her own inclination as far as timing is concerned.

There is a keen awareness of the possible influences that such past relationship will and may have upon the present experiment, and every effort is being made to keep complete records and to establish such facts objectively.

This new experiment had as its expressed aims and goals:

the education of the girls according to their perceived needs and interests, and that they be enabled to learn in the area of human relations their personal methods of socializing; and that this should take place with a minimum disruption of their present social milieu.

Such aims and goals were centred in a perspective of the inmate population of the Reformatory. It was decided that the correctional staff of the institution in the person of the Superintendent and others would be responsible for the selection of a group of some ten girls (we usually use the nomenclature of 'girls' for the inmate population — a term which they do not seem to resent or even dislike). There is an existing policy of segregating first offenders from recidivists, a practice maintained in the Reformatory and strongly supported by various vociferous public bodies. It was indicated that in the main, girls chosen for the experiment would be first offenders although the odd recidivist has been included in the groups. No standards for the selection of group members were established and this was left entirely to the discretion of the correctional staff.

The group leader has no knowledge of the case histories of group participants except such material as they may have divulged personally in past contacts and chaplaincy interviews.

However the perspectives concerning the participant group member which governed the aims and goals of the experiment were based on the assumption that they would be mainly first offenders, for the most part young women and girls who were experiencing for the first time the real force and power of social censure. The groups would include the occasional alcoholic problem, the young prostitutes, thieves, forgers, the assault and robbery case, and those convicted of breaches of the Female Refugees Act (which could include vagrancy, etc.).

It has been maintained that such behavioural characteristics are but symptoms of intra-psychial conflicts, or interpersonal and/or social difficulties. If one might generalize rather inanely, they are personally confused, lacking insight of themselves, and socially maladjusted, finding living in the context of the usual social milieu anything but easy.

The age range that would be included in the groups would be between 18 years and 40, both married and unmarried. It was recognized that many of those included in the group although but 18 years of age may well have been experiencing personal difficulties for many years, may have been maladjusted in society and behaved anti-socially for a long time, and may well have had experience in various training schools and institutions. The groups have included French Canadians, Canadian Indians, those of Anglo-Saxon background, with the occasional girl from

parents with European background. The educational status has ranged from the odd one who could neither read nor write to the matriculant and well experienced business woman. In the main the girls have come from broken homes (both actual and emotionally), children's aid or other societies, and have had experience in foster homes or institutions, while others have well-to-do and socially respected parents. They came from the crowded depressed areas of the cities, from the small villages and the Indian reserves.

It was conceived that if such group participants could in their confusion gain insight to themselves, their methods of relating with others, with an understanding of other's problems and difficulties, motivation towards rehabilitative behaviour might result.

Methods of Treatment

Selection of group participants would be by the custodial, or Reformatory staff, but this selection was governed and is governed by one principle: each girl must be given the opportunity to withdraw without prejudice and that participation must ever be entirely voluntary. In this way reform or rehabilitation is made a part of the policy of the Reformatory. The Superintendent indicates the significance of the rehabilitation centre and seeks to gain the interest of the selectees. It should be noted that individuals have indicated that they were uninterested and have returned immediately to their usual activities in the institution.

The girls are chosen, interviewed by the Superintendent, and given their chance to withdraw on the same afternoon as the first session of the group is held as an orientation period. This practice is to ensure that the girls make their own decision and are not put under social pressures from the other groups in the institution. Choice to participate in the experiment confers two privileges upon group members.

- 1) They are indeed chosen, which places them in a certain category the worth of which would depend entirely upon the frame of reference of the one making judgment.
- 2) They are to be trusted — for the Rehabilitation Centre is outside the security area and the ten members are in the care of but one matron and could undoubtedly escape if they so desired.

There are many evidences that this element of trust is significant in the work.

Group recordings indicate quite clearly the importance of *choice* and *trust* implicit in this transaction. "That I was chosen" — "I never thought that she would choose me" — and "I can't get over that I was chosen" — "I felt sure that would get the chance, but I never

thought I would". The trust implicit in this method is also related by the girls to their responsibility to other inmates who have not been chosen and they raise the issue that if they fail in this trust this might mean that other girls might never get the chance that they are having.

Once the choice has been made and the group is ready to proceed to the Rehabilitation Centre they are placed in the charge of a matron and allowed to walk the 500 yards across the grounds to the Centre. They bring with them their evening meal to be prepared at the Centre. The matron carries the keys to the Centre and the group is admitted at one time to the house of which the ground floor is divided into four areas, a back kitchen, a dining room, a well furnished sitting room with a hall and stairway leading to the second floor. The toilet available to the girls is at the top of the stairway. Bedrooms and office space take up the rest of the second floor but none of this accommodation is at present in use.

The group leader carries no keys and is admitted to the Centre at the same time as the group or by members of the group if they have already arrived there. The house is a well-furnished, well-heated private residence and is cleaned rigorously and well in the routine of the institution but not by members of the group. The atmosphere in the building is conducive to relaxation and as the girls themselves express it "is just like home". The sitting room in which two hours are spent during the sessions has three easy chairs, two settees and one rocker which are quickly taken over by the girls and much appreciated by the group members. The leader uses a small diningroom chair placed in the doorway. Group members express repeatedly their appreciation of the surroundings and the meaning that it conveys to them.

In the orientation meeting which takes place on the first day, the newly chosen group is conducted around the house by the matron in charge after which they meet with the leader in the sitting room. Self introductions occur during which Christian names or "nick names" are used which the leader publicly memorizes. At the same time the leader talks about himself, and the reason why the group is being held and indicates that this is not a religious meeting in itself, attempting not to divorce himself from his former role but endeavouring to ensure as far as possible that this does not determine the course that this work will take. The significance of group relationships is introduced, using the concept of life beginning by birth into a family and the meaning of family relationships; membership in the school group; or groups forming in factories, in the club, or in the churches, and the groups that do form in the corridors of the institution. The uses made of group relations are discussed and the ends that they can serve. Dependency on others is freely discussed. Issues are raised about the unwillingness to belong to

certain groups or to mix with certain people and the group is allowed to discuss these points, and at such a time it is made clear that individuals should be free at the end of this session to withdraw from such a group as this and that it would be most natural should some of them wish to, and should not be counted in any way as reprehensible. Questions are invited and discussion permitted.

Possibly it should have been mentioned that the matron representing the custodial staff stays in the back kitchen during the first two hours of each group meeting and does not accept active participation in the group activities. She is responsible to conduct the group to the Centre and to return them at the end of each three-hour period, and must accept responsibility for the custody of the group. No effort has been made to indoctrinate the matrons and it must be admitted that they have undertaken their duties with a willingness and co-operation. If a group member gets out of line, or out of hand, the matron is responsible and must handle the situation. The group leader is not to be forced into an authoritarian leadership role or a warden's role. However the matron is instructed not to interfere with group procedure and to be ready to accept the results of the permissive atmosphere of the group situation as much as is possible.

Here it must be clearly recognized that a custodial officer employed within a well defined regime is placed in a most difficult situation when all the usual props surrounding and maintaining her office are removed. Keys, locked door, staff hierarchy, well defined limits in labour and behaviour are all removed and even her role is changed for she remains within the kitchen and even prepares the meals for the girls to eat.

The work of the custodial staff and their real interest in the rehabilitation of these girls is amply demonstrated in the co-operation received in these experiments.

There have been manifestations, although not many, of times when a custodial officer in such a state of insecurity has fortified her position by

- 1) threatening, or issuing warnings, although the matter in question would be entirely permissible in the group structure and has no relationship to the general conduct of the segregated group, within the larger unit.
- 2) maintaining without foundation in fact, that the superintendent has ordered a certain course of action in order to obtain a personally desired goal and thus making use of a generally accepted staff hierarchy.
- 3) by using punitive measure to fortify personal status or volition with little valid rationale to support such behaviour.

The experimental policy evolved in this situation has been that group members are accustomed to this behaviour, and that they are capable of dealing with it and also gaining understanding of their own reaction and behaviour in such a situation, if they are allowed to deal with it in their own way. Moreover it was believed that to indoctrinate the custodial staff to behave in a way unrelated to their normal procedures in their profession would endanger their total relationship, both with the employing bodies and persons in their care. Matrons chosen for the work were those who on normal professional duties would have been handling most of the group members in the institution.

It has been hoped that as a girl is irritated by a matron's behaviour, or has reacted adversely to a normal demand, ultimately the group itself would deal with the situation and clarify thinking in such areas. This has happened a number of times and the group has consistently maintained a just and overwhelmingly favourable attitude to the matron whom they have supported both as a person "who does things like that"; or "that is just like her"; "you know she is like that so why take it to heart?"; or "Well, what did you expect her to do, you made her do that, you've got to be fair, that's her job".

The girls have in post group-experience interviews indicated most strongly that they have felt matrons have been placed in a most difficult position and have, they feel, accomplished a hard task exceptionally well.

The treatment program is outlined in the orientation period in the following manner.

1. The group meets for four sessions each week, from 3:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m., Mondays to Thursdays inclusive, for thirty sessions. Holidays and special days in the institution are observed and the girls participate with the larger inmate population.
2. Each session is divided into three hours:—
 - (a) 3:00 to 4:00 p.m.—A lecture period in which the leader speaks on any subject chosen by the group. All material is written on a "Flip Chart" and kept for future records. Topics are chosen by the group the day preceding the session, and each lecture is followed by group discussion. Once a week on Wednesdays a film is shown in this hour period followed by a discussion. In orientation the group is given a list of some twenty films and asked to indicate their order of preference. The group preference is then worked out on the board and the films procured in the order indicated.

- (b) In a break of five minutes the group prepare the dining room for the evening meal. At the beginning of the sessions three tables are left in different positions in the room. Within the first three days the girls have asked permission, or simply placed the tables end to end in order that the group might sit together.
- (c) 4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.—The group take their seats in the sitting room for a Group Dynamic session in interpersonal relations. The leader refrains as much as possible from interpretations and summaries but raises issues of seeming significance in group behaviour or individual behaviour, although the group is generally inclined to deal with these issues in the process of its own development and growth.

The various roles of members are recognized and pointed out although not in technical terms. Individuals act out their difficulties when verbalizing becomes too difficult, and the group tends to pick such behaviour out and name it. And there is a tendency for the group to develop a sense of fairness, justice, and to set limits. Members have at times felt forced to withdraw from the group when censure, or criticism have appeared too hard to bear, although the leader attempts to be aware of emotional tones, and to sense the "Symbolic" communications that are being indulged in.

All such material is recorded by a stenographer who acts as group secretary. She is introduced to the group who quickly accept her, in her role, and report in after-session interviews that her presence does not affect them adversely.

Tape recordings, although attempted in the first group, were discarded as proving inadequate.

- (d) At 5:00 p.m. sharp this group activity ceases and the members partake of an evening meal. At this point the matron joins the group at the meal table. This is a time for free discussion and socializing. Many topics are discussed at the table and a great deal of value is placed by the girls upon this hour.

After the meal the girls wash the dishes and tidy the room while some enjoy free time in which buzz groups form in an informal setting.

At 6:00 p.m. the matron conducts the group back to the main unit.

This program gives attention to the following therapeutic techniques:

- (a) Milieu Therapy

(b) Group Therapy—at various levels:

1. Didactic
2. Therapeutic, Interpersonal
3. Therapeutic, Social

(c) Individual Therapy on a follow up program, i.e., individuals may continue their relationship with the therapist or counsellor after the sessions are completed, and on their own volition.

Also individuals have sought personal interview during sessions but usually "group sense" is against this unless the individual indicates her desire to the group as a whole.

Possibly such therapeutic possibilities should be examined more closely.

As has already been stressed, the fact of being chosen and trusted produces in the main a definite emotional response in the group members, and at the same time implies goals or standards. It must be borne in mind that the incarcerated person quite often feels abandoned, stigmatized, lost, and even unworthy.

Again, such an act of choice with which the individual voluntarily concurs separates the chosen from the larger group of those who have not been elected. Our experiment shows that the group members must be prepared to face the pressure placed upon them by the remaining members of the inmate populace. There are evidences that the inmate population seek to make individual group members break faith with the "Rehab Group", they must face censure and criticism for their "square john" association. The growing ability of group members to withstand such pressure and to understand it has in itself a possible therapeutic significance.

Moreover group members attained a growing sense of responsible behaviour as they upheld the group standards and contract in face of the opposition of their former associates. This does not mean that they lose their old friendship but may view them in a different light and will not be "made chicken" at the slightest provocation.

Such choice also sets the foundation for a more understanding relationship with custodial personnel and emphasizes the possibilities of "Reform" in the Reformatory.

Milieu Therapy

The atmosphere and nature of the physical setting of the "Rehab Centre" can be therapeutic for a group member. "It is beautiful — just like home — I wish we could stay here all the time" are often-repeated phrases.

Group members are called upon to relate to custodial staff and the leader in new and more responsible or mature ways. In such a setting they are inclined to question why they have been placed in the Reformatory. There is a sense in which they go back each night and they soon begin to talk about "what the Mercer means to them". The street cars are near, they watch pedestrians on the sidewalk, there are no bars on the windows and they are able to face what incarceration means and what they have lost.

With a male leader and a house setting there is a certain amount of spontaneous role playing in which the leader is spoken of as the "father" and the matron becomes the "mother". This opens the doorway to the oftentimes tender memories of broken homes and past traumas of dreadful impact upon tender lives.

Every effort is made to present to the group members that the "Rehab Centre" will accomplish nothing, but what one does in "Rehab" could accomplish much. An effort is made to produce a permissive atmosphere in which individuals can be themselves, express their feelings, while finding acceptance and understanding with and by staff and fellow group members.

However it is considered of distinct value that the group should go back into the normal atmosphere of the Reformatory, face the routine there and evaluate what they learn in the context of that environment. Rehabilitation starts not in some distant time but in the present.

Again it is not considered important when a person is chosen to participate in the group experience as long as they have had time to settle into the routine of the institution. Thus one group member may have served fifteen months and will be discharged in three months, while another member may only have completed one month and may face after "Rehab" a further ten or more months in the institution. The conduct of individuals on return to the institution has been changed, they act more maturely and have apparently in some cases gained insight both to their own behaviour and that of others. As one member said on her return to the institution after the thirty sessions:

She felt better able to help many people who had turned to her in the corridors, and that this was done in a way which did not breach the confidence of the group in any way. She now felt better able to help others.

Group Therapy

(a) *The Didactic Group.* Aimed at teaching along the line of group interests. Oftentimes this is used by the group to test the leader, his value system, and even his knowledge. The following tables indicate the choices made by the groups.

SESSION	GROUP I SUBJECT	GROUP II SUBJECT	GROUP III SUBJECT	GROUP IV SUBJECT
1.	Pre: Orientation	Orientation Why do people get in trouble	Orientation Choice of films	Orientation
2.	Orientation	Difficulties in Reformatory	Honesty	Alcoholism Teen-Age Drinking
3.	Ages - Stages	Alcoholism	Criminal is born	Criminal is born
4.	Development of personal val. syst.	Marriage	Obedience	Delinquency
5.	Alcoholism	Family Relationship	Tolerance	Social Needs
6.	Marriage Conflicts	Feeling depress.	Alcohol Disc.	Ages & Stages
7.	Delinquency Factors	Disc. on Depression	Alcoholism	Crossroads Borderline
8.	Feeling Rejection	Human Behaviour interpretation	Marriage	Discussion of above
9.	Punishment	Film Borderline	Lesbianism	The Will
10.	Lesbianism	Grief	Drugs	Marriage
11.	Prostitution	Lesbianism	Adultery	Alcoholism
12.	Feeling of hostility	Jealousy	Grief	Why do we do the things we do
13.	Bereavement	Film Alcoholism	Family Constellation	Jealousy
14.	Why people repress feelings	Prostitution	Anxiety	Drugs

SESSION	GROUP I SUBJECT	GROUP II SUBJECT	GROUP III SUBJECT	GROUP IV SUBJECT
15.	Anger	Sex before Marriage	Human Behaviour	Discussion re film
16.	Feeling of depression	Stealing	Jealousy, discussion	Mixed Marriage
17.	Discussion on depression	Crossroads — delinquency	Jealousy Who's Right?	Problems on release
18.	Marriage, getting on with people	Homosexuality in old male	Jealousy	Escape Feeling of Depression
19.	Delinquency	Dreams	Mockery	Discussion
20.	Over dependency	Anger	Adoption	Meeting demands of society
21.	Film Alcoholism	Drugs	Hostility	Lesbianism
22.	V.D.	What to do on release	Stepfathers	Hostility
23.	Stepfathers	Mixed Marriage	Hostility	Case of Cecily
24.	Terrible 2's Trusting 3's	Criminal is born	Going out	Prostitution
25.	Going out fears	Shyness	Crossroads	Case of Madeline
26.	Jealousy	Release	Crossroads	Film "Out of True"
27.	Whose right, Marriage	Sent. Prob., Parole	Going out	Case of Evelyn
28.	Sent. Prob., Parole	Disc. on adjustment on release	Film Escape Depression	
29.	Testing	Testing	Testing	Feeling of rejection
30.	Closing	Closing	Closing	Closing

In all Didactic Sessions attempts are made to present the data as objectively as possible, using diagrammatical presentations whenever possible, and demonstrating

the somatic, or physical aspects
the psychological factors, and
the social significance or meaning.

If religious questions are raised, as the group is composed of mixed religious affiliations, attempts are made to present the Roman Catholic concepts, the Protestant, the Hebrew viewpoints. Group participation is encouraged by questions and discussions.

(b) In the *Interpersonal or Group Therapy* sessions, the aims are to repair loss of self esteem and self confidence; give emotional support and gain insight and attain modification of anti-social attitudes, and behavioural patterns by becoming aware of inappropriate behaviour; to allow the individual to practice new ways of dealing with other people. Members are helped to gain insight to their role in the group:— usurpers, contenders, pretenders, protectors, rebels, spectators, passive objectors, active objectors, faithful servants, translators, collaborators, chroniclers, etc.

Such group work leads to buzz groups both in the "Rehab" centre and the main unit.

Group members discuss their personal problems. Lying, stealing, marital infidelity, drink, their love affairs, and their traumas, physical beatings by parents, bereavement, etc., while most content has relevance to the immediate group situation and emotional tenor.

(c) The *social therapy* of the free discussion at the meal table eases much tension, allows the free handling of "other subjects" and prepares the group to return to the main unit. The fact that the leader and the matron eat the same meal at the same table is meaningful to the group.

Individual Therapy

Individual follow-up is maintained at the volition of the group members and some have maintained their contact with the leader both in the institution and since their release. They come to the leader bringing parents, husbands, or to continue an opportunity to talk out difficulties or new insights.

After each thirty sessions is completed the Reformatory psychiatrist who had interviewed every girl on intake, re-interviews the girls to gain an impression of their reaction to their experience in the group. A summary of his report on the first two groups follows.

Summary

DR. W. E. BOOTHROYD

All agree that this has been a helpful experience. The exact way in which it has been helpful, and the respective values which have been placed on the various items, have differed considerably, but this would be expected, and it is interesting that none of the girls have felt that it has been on the whole either harmful or neutral. All have agreed that the value per hour increased greatly towards the end, and would have wished for it to have gone on longer. With one exception, all agreed that it would have been better if they could have lived together over there, so as to further their knowledge of and confidence in each other.

All have agreed that the confidence that was placed in them originally not to talk about the group outside of the group was respected throughout, and this has given them a feeling of belonging and of in-group solidarity, which has been one of the most potent values of the experience.

All have been enthusiastic about the way that the therapist conducted himself and of his relationship to them. I do not think any one was threatened by him personally, or as a group leader, and most have been spontaneously loud in their gratitude towards him. I think that everyone mentioned that they hoped that other girls would be exposed to this same experience, a feeling that it was of value for others too.

Some felt that the influence of the group on their subsequent problems was doubtful, and some were dubious that it was of as much practical value as of theoretical interest, but this was a difference in degree only, and the general feeling was positive in every case.

I think all agreed that it was the right size of group, and there was a majority approval of the frequency of meeting, that is four days a week for three hours.

Objectively there is no doubt that everyone received value from the course, even the ones that had some negative feelings about certain aspects of it had benefited more than they realized. It remains to be seen of course whether this very pleasant experience, with its apparent usefulness, will turn out to be of subsequent value to them in their life problems. My own opinion is that it cannot fail to be of great use to them subsequently, and that it will probably have an effect which will last as long as they live.

I think this experiment should be considered a pronounced success, that we have learnt something from it in the detail, but that on the whole it should be continued in much the same method as has been tried this first time.

The group has been fortunate in the leader which they have, and this should be considered carefully, if and when similar groups are planned, or if the present leadership for any reason cannot continue indefinitely.

This is a true rehabilitation move, and should be regarded as successful and extremely important.

Cet article décrit en détail le programme du Mercer Reformatory de Toronto pour jeunes filles sur le point de recevoir leur congé. Ce programme se poursuit dans un centre de réhabilitation à l'écart sur le terrains de la maison de correction.

La thérapie de groupe au pénitencier

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Introduction

Le présent travail se propose de décrire une expérience thérapeutique tentée avec les criminels. Cette expérience, qui ne s'appuyait sur aucun précédent au pénitencier Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, ni dans la majorité des pénitenciers canadiens, sauf peut-être celui de Kingston, fut lancée il y a quatre ans et s'est poursuivie depuis de façon régulière et progressive. La suite de cet exposé fera parcourir rapidement, à vol d'oiseau, le déroulement de cette entreprise de thérapie de groupe et dégagera ses principales répercussions sur les détenus qui y ont participé.

Faisant l'historique de cette addition toute récente à la vie pénitentiaire, nous constatons que la thérapie de groupe débuta au pénitencier sous les auspices de la "John Howard Society" et fut offerte au groupe minoritaire des détenus anglais. Le groupe fut recruté par Messieurs L. St-Pierre et J. Maher, alors respectivement psychologue et officier de classement au pénitencier, et conduit par les docteurs A. W. MacLeod et R. M. Cunningham du Mental Hygiene Institute. Ceci se passait au mois de janvier 1955, et le groupe lors de cette première session, se composait de six détenus et des personnes mentionnées plus haut. Ce groupe fonctionna jusqu'au mois de juin 1955, au rythme d'à peu près deux sessions par mois. Il s'interrompit lorsque les services pénitentiaires entrèrent en pourparlers afin d'obtenir un psychiatre permanent pour Saint-Vincent-de-Paul. Au mois de novembre 1955, le nouveau psychiatre, le docteur Bruno M. Cormier, en collaboration avec le "John Howard Society" représentée par M. E. Shiner, reprit le groupe anglais formé d'un noyau de ceux qui avaient déjà participé et de nouveaux membres. En décembre 1955, M. J. Ciale, psychologue, se joignit à l'équipe responsable du groupe. Le groupe comprenait alors huit détenus et se réunissait toutes les deux semaines. A la fin de janvier 1956, un nouveau groupe fut créé, cette fois parmi la population française du pénitencier, avec, comme responsables, le docteur Cormier et messieurs Ciale et M. Gélinas. Un peu plus tard, deux groupes furent constitués par les psychologues du pénitencier, messieurs Ciale et Fréchette, au sein de la population des jeunes, i.e., ceux en bas de vingt et un ans; l'un français, au mois de novembre 1956, l'autre anglais, au mois de mai 1957. Depuis, la thérapie de groupe, avec des fortunes diverses, mais sans interruption, a été appliquée au pénitencier et un nouvel essor lui sera bientôt imprimé.

A la suite de ces quelques prémisses historiques, nous nous efforçons en premier lieu de définir la thérapie de groupe d'abord dans son

sens général, ensuite dans la signification bien particulière qu'elle acquiert à l'intérieur des murs pénitentiaires. Puis nous parlerons de la thérapie de groupe en action au pénitencier, d'abord avec les adultes, ensuite avec les jeunes. Enfin, nous élaborerons quelques remarques sur les résultats et les modalités de la thérapie de groupe au pénitencier.

Définition de la Thérapie de Groupe

Définissons la thérapie de groupe d'abord en général, puis au pénitencier. Précisons que la thérapie de groupe, telle que nous la comprenons et l'utilisons, peut être qualifiée de façon plus exacte la psychothérapie analytique de groupe. Elle est une technique dans laquelle des individus sont rassemblés dans un but essentiellement thérapeutique. Elle fut créée et développée il y a quelques années en milieu hospitalier lorsqu'on s'aperçut que des patients souffrant de troubles médicaux et psychologiques analogues retrouvaient une aide bénéfique non seulement de leur thérapeute attitré mais encore des uns des autres. Des expériences furent tentées en réunissant dans un même endroit, avec le thérapeute, plusieurs patients. Les résultats se révélèrent fructueux et donnèrent naissance à une technique de traitement authentique qui a maintenant droit de cité dans la thérapeutique moderne. Elle fut beaucoup utilisée durant la guerre et continua par la suite à intéresser de nombreux cliniciens, spécialement ceux qui travaillaient dans les prisons, qui étaient débordés par les exigences thérapeutiques de leurs patients et qui sentaient le besoin urgent d'une technique de traitement collectif.

Les buts de la thérapie de groupe la définissent et la justifient. Essentiellement, ils sont toutefois les mêmes que ceux de toute bonne thérapie, i.e. d'abord l'établissement ou l'instauration d'une relation de transfert, ou relation dans laquelle le patient peut reporter sur la personne du thérapeute des sentiments qu'il a éprouvés dans le passé (déplacement d'émotion), ensuite l'apparition du phénomène de catharsis, i.e. résorption d'affects attachés à certaines situations à la suite de l'expérience thérapeutique, l'élaboration aussi d'insight, i.e. d'une meilleure compréhension de l'individu à l'égard de ses propres mécanismes psychiques, l'amélioration du "testing" des réalités, et enfin la sublimation, i.e. la capacité d'utilisation d'instincts de base pour des buts constructifs et altruistes. La caractéristique essentielle de la thérapie de groupe est que tous ces mécanismes se déroulent en présence de plusieurs personnes assemblées et par l'interaction des unes sur les autres. Cette forme de thérapie de groupe s'applique seulement à des petits groupes, de sept à dix membres, afin que tout le processus thérapeutique qui vient d'être décrit puisse réellement s'amorcer. La procédure s'appuie donc avant tout sur un "talking through", i.e. sur la pénétration et la ventilation des problèmes et des conflits de l'individu. Le premier principe général qui

préside à la formation d'un groupe vise à créer un groupe thérapeutiquement balancé, où les membres sont sélectionnés d'après leurs problèmes respectifs pour s'aider mutuellement. L'expérience a d'ailleurs prouvé que les cas partageant les mêmes syndromes pathologiques, avec des problèmes de personnalité analogues, avec des acquis intellectuels et sociaux identiques, sont ceux qui s'aident le mieux même si les symptômes sont différents. Le second principe général qui préside à la thérapie de groupe concerne l'attitude du thérapeute qui doit être tissée de permissivité, de compréhension et d'objectivité. Un des avantages majeurs de la thérapie de groupe est de multiplier les cibles de décharge affective en ce sens que chaque membre devient un peu un thérapeute.

Au pénitencier la technique de la thérapie de groupe présente quelques modalités bien particulières. On peut d'abord la définir le processus dans lequel un groupe de détenus et un thérapeute sont réunis ensemble et engagés dans une interaction dynamique à but thérapeutique. Les critères d'appartenance à nos groupes intra-muraux peuvent s'énumérer ainsi: il faut évidemment d'abord avoir un passé criminel, i.e. avoir perpétré une offense quelconque; pour les groupes d'adultes, il faut être âgé d'au moins 22 ans et en général de moins de 50, alors que pour les groupes de jeunes la sélection se fait entre 16 et 21 ans; les membres du groupe ne doivent pas avoir plus de deux ans à purger sur le reste de leur sentence; le quotient intellectuel doit être au moins de 90, i.e. dans la catégorie des intelligences moyennes; le détenu doit manifester une motivation positive à participer au groupe; les membres doivent présenter des problèmes psychologiques appropriés (nous évitons les cas de perversion déclarés et les cas franchement psychotiques). Quant au fonctionnement même du groupe, il se fonde sur trois règles auxquelles tous les membres du groupe doivent donner leur adhésion, la première est qu'ils viennent volontairement au groupe et qu'ils peuvent le quitter à leur gré, la seconde leur permet de dire ce qu'ils veulent dans le groupe sans aucun danger de répression ou de censure ou de blâme, la troisième exige que tout ce qui se dit au cours des sessions du groupe ne peut être divulgué à d'autres personnes ni par les détenus ni par le thérapeute, i.e. plus explicitement que tout ce qui est dit au groupe ne peut être utilisé ni pour eux ni contre eux.

La thérapie de groupe à l'intérieur d'un pénitencier se heurte à des difficultés assez particulières. Le thérapeute doit avant tout obtenir la confiance des détenus qui participent et ce but n'est pas toujours atteint sans mésaventure. Il faut les convaincre que l'atmosphère du groupe est véritablement et totalement permissive et qu'aucune censure ne sera exercée sur ce qu'ils diront, autrement dit les faire se sentir pendant une heure et demi des hommes libres au sein même du pénitencier. Ils doivent s'habituer aussi à se faire confiance les uns les autres, et à envisager la présence du thérapeute dans le groupe au même titre qu'eux-mêmes,

comme un égal, un autre membre, car beaucoup sont portés automatiquement à se sentir inférieurs, à se dévaluer devant le thérapeute, à attendre de lui des vérités *ex-cathedra*: ce qui nuit au processus thérapeutique. Le thérapeute doit aussi surmonter l'obstacle qui découle du milieu essentiellement répressif dans lequel il travaille. En d'autres termes il doit se dissocier, se séparer du caractère punitif et disciplinaire de l'institution, même s'il est membre du personnel de cette même institution. Il ne peut être perçu comme une figure dépositaire d'autorité pénale, i.e. qu'il est nécessaire qu'il se départage complètement du rôle de surveillant que, plus ou moins consciemment, le détenu lui attribue, non sans raison puisque, durant les sessions du groupe, il endosse la responsabilité disciplinaire des membres du groupe. La conciliation de toutes ces exigences oblige souvent le thérapeute à exécuter de véritables acrobaties verbales. Une autre pierre d'achoppement consiste dans l'utilisation du groupe par certains détenus pour manipuler l'environnement, par exemple pour obtenir une rémission de sentence, pour échapper au travail, pour rencontrer un ami, pour impressionner les officiers et les co-détenus, etc. L'énumération de ces quelques difficultés donnent une idée des conditions adverses dans lesquelles la thérapie de groupe est employée.

La Thérapie de Groupe en Action

Observons maintenant la thérapie de groupe en action, d'abord avec les adultes, ensuite avec les jeunes. En ce qui concerne les adultes, deux groupes analytiques fonctionnent au pénitencier depuis trois ans. Le nombre de détenus adultes touchés de façon réelle par cette forme de traitement s'élève depuis trois ans à 74, comprenant 40 détenus de langue anglaise et 34 détenus de langue française. Ce nombre est évidemment très restreint quand on le compare à la population totale du pénitencier au cours de ces trois années, et il représente environ une proportion de 16 détenus recevant systématiquement de la thérapie de groupe sur un total possible de 1200 adultes. Les deux groupes adultes eurent lieu tout d'abord à la fréquence d'une session par 15 jours, ce qui totalisait 25 à 26 sessions par année. A partir d'avril 1958 pour le groupe français et d'octobre 1958 pour le groupe anglais, la fréquence fut augmentée à une session par semaine. Le processus thérapeutique s'intensifia alors de façon très appréciable. Toutefois, la disproportion entre ce qui est réalisé et ce qui devrait être fait demeure énorme; les chiffres cités parlent par eux-mêmes.

Les groupes adultes s'effectuent généralement en présence du psychiatre, du psychologue et d'un travailleur social d'une agence extérieure. Les membres du groupe (détenus et autres participants) sont assis autour d'une table où des cigarettes sont à la disposition de tous; aucun sujet ou thème de discussion n'est préparé à l'avance ni proposé; un membre énonce alors une opinion ou amène un problème et la discussion s'engage, à laquelle le thérapeute participe lorsqu'il juge son intervention

thérapeutiquement nécessaire. Les contenus les plus fréquents de discussion dans les groupes ont été, par ordre d'importance, d'abord les griefs contre les autorités, la société, la famille, puis les répercussions de l'emprisonnement sur eux-mêmes (i.e. le stress de l'environnement), ensuite le problème de la réadaptation à la société et enfin la signification de la criminalité dans leur vie. Le taux d'absentéisme dans les groupes s'est révélé très réduit, et les gains secondaires ont certainement quelque chose à y voir.

Abordons maintenant les jeunes. Les deux psychologues attachés au pénitencier, messieurs Ciale et Fréchette, ont lancé deux groupes de jeunes détenus, sur la base des principes énoncés plus haut. Ces deux groupes l'un français, l'autre anglais, ont fonctionné le premier à partir de novembre 1956 jusqu'à septembre 1958, le second de mars 1957 jusqu'en octobre 1958. Ces deux groupes ont été à ce moment-là interrompus et les raisons qui ont causé cet arrêt seront données plus loin. En plus des difficultés présentées par les groupes d'adultes, les groupes de jeunes posaient quelques autres problèmes additionnels. La population juvénile du pénitencier se constitue de deux noyaux bien distincts: le noyau de ceux qui sont destinés à être déplacés au Centre Fédéral et qui constituent la majorité (les deux tiers environ de la population des jeunes), et le noyau de ceux qui demeurent au pénitencier sans autres possibilités que l'obligation de s'y adapter. Les premiers ne sont que de passage au pénitencier; c'est pour eux une simple période de transition et il est très difficile durant leur court séjour au pénitencier d'entreprendre tout travail thérapeutique suivi. Quant aux seconds, ils y sont pour toute la durée de leur sentence. Ils constituent toutefois un groupe particulièrement malaisé à aider. En effet les meilleurs éléments de ce groupe sont sélectionnés et amenés au Centre. Il nous reste donc le résidu, la lie en quelque sorte, qui se compose de diverses catégories d'individus, le récidiviste, l'incorrigible, le délinquant réfractaire qui refuse de transférer au Centre, l'homosexuel, les cas d'institution depuis l'enfance (orphelins), les débiles mentaux, les épileptiques, etc. Ces cas offrent de grandes résistances à tout effort thérapeutique, soit par mauvaise volonté, i.e. par opposition intentionnelle, soit par suite de l'irréversibilité des symptômes (un exemple est l'orphelin d'institution qui est handicapé pour la vie sur le plan social).

Les Résultats et les Modalités de la Thérapie de Groupe

Qu'est-ce que la thérapie de groupe comme technique donne au sein du pénitencier? Essayons d'analyser quelques uns des résultats manifestes, en comparant les résultats obtenus chez les adultes avec des jeunes. Une différence frappante apparaît immédiatement dans le taux de récidivisme des anciens membres des groupes des adultes et des jeunes. Chez les adultes français, sur 24 membres libérés, cinq ont récidivé et

sont revenus au pénitencier; chez les adultes anglais, sur 29 membres libérés, cinq sont revenus. Quant aux jeunes, dans le groupe français, sur 14 membres libérés, 12 ont été arrêtés et incarcérés de nouveau; dans le groupe anglais, 12 libérés et 10 revenus. Le total est donc chez les adultes 53 membres libérés et 10 récidives (taux d'insuccès 19%, qui se compare avantageusement au taux de récidivisme annuel moyen qui est environ 45%). Ces chiffres sont significatifs bien qu'il soit difficile de déterminer quel rôle la thérapie de groupe a joué dans ces résultats. Même s'il est impossible de déterminer quelle influence le groupe a exercé sur cet état de choses, quelques hypothèses et quelques déductions explicatives sont tout de même possibles.

Les individus touchés par le groupe des adultes dépassent presque tous la trentaine, i.e. que pèse sur la plupart un lourd passé criminel ponctué de plusieurs séjours au pénitencier; ils ont été marqués durement par l'incarcération. Ils sont donc ébranlés dans leur fondement même et souvent disposés à renoncer à leur mode criminel de fonctionnement. Le groupe avive sans doute ce processus de marche arrière. Les criminels de vieille date subissent une sorte de renversement de la charge affective attachée aux actes criminels en ce sens que ceux-ci commencent à devenir véritablement douleureux, et pénibles: l'attrait de la criminalité perd du terrain. Au contraire les jeunes détenus que nous avons au pénitencier sont souvent des criminels en pleine évolution qui n'ont pas encore atteint leur "climax", leur sommet criminel, qui n'en sont pas encore revenus si l'on peut dire. Les jeunes se révèlent plus délinquants que les vieux, i.e. moins perméables à l'anxiété, au désir de changer, aux "insight", et aussi ils se protègent mieux contre toute intrusion thérapeutique par suite de leur identification étroite aux valeurs criminelles. Leurs réactions au cours des sessions de groupe témoignaient clairement du niveau réduit de leur anxiété et de leur culpabilité vis-à-vis les gestes anti-sociaux, de leur indifférence devant leurs propres conflits personnels et de leur incapacité à verbaliser ces derniers. Leur capacité d'empathiser avec les règles sociales est restreinte au minimum alors que leur égocentrisme est véritablement boursoufié. Intellectuellement, les jeunes criminels sont capables de comprendre, reconnaître et même accepter qu'ils ont tort de réagir antisocialement, mais émotivement il est pour eux extrêmement pénible de renoncer à leurs comportements criminels, car ceux-ci sont cathectés à l'excès, i.e. qu'ils possèdent un pouvoir d'appel quasi irrésistible. Alors que chez les adultes, l'agression est partiellement intérieurisée et retournée contre l'individu, chez les jeunes elle est lancée avec force et totalement vers l'extérieur. Il s'avère donc très difficile de les blesser thérapeutiquement, et c'est la raison pour laquelle messieurs Ciale et Fréchette ont senti le besoin d'abandonner la technique classique de la thérapie de groupe et d'innover une technique permettant de percer cette

façade narcissique derrière laquelle le jeune délinquant se cache. Il semble à l'heure actuelle qu'une technique analogue au "play therapy", avec des communications verbales en très petit nombre et mettant l'accent sur la reconstruction de l'ego par des activités motrices gratifiantes, pourrait offrir des chances de succès.

Une autre particularité qui nous a frappé avec les groupes de thérapie du pénitencier et qui s'est manifestée exclusivement chez les adultes est une tendance à abandonner le groupe, temporairement ou définitivement, plutôt que de l'utiliser, lorsqu'ils affrontent un stress trop intense et qu'ils deviennent déprimés ou tendus. On dirait à ce moment-là que l'agression débridée, que tout événement trop adverse déclenche presqu'inévitablement chez le criminel, se retourne contre lui et que ses capacités de l'agir à l'extérieur, i.e. ses capacités d'acting out, sont bloquées. Dans un tel moment de dépression, il va alors nous affirmer "je lâche tout; ça ne vaut plus la peine; je lâche le groupe, les A.A., le comité, etc."; parce qu'il a été frustré, il se replie sur lui-même et se renferme dans sa coquille, abandonnant justement ce qui pourrait l'aider. Nous avons là, la plupart du temps, une réaction très masochique. Ajoutons que nous faisons face avec les groupes de criminels à des résistances inconscientes très fortes dues à la structure de groupe elle-même. Ceci est particulièrement bien illustré, surtout chez les jeunes, par leur changement de comportement lorsqu'ils sont vus en entrevue individuelle ou en session de groupe. Le criminel ne peut presque pas se priver d'un certain panache qui lui sert de façade devant les autres et qui témoigne de sa soif inapaisable de survalorisation. Un détenu qu'on découvre poli, géné, anxieux en entrevue individuelle peut se métamorphoser dans le groupe en un individu frondeur, agressif, matamore. Ce besoin d'impressionner, si puissant chez le criminel, entrave souvent le processus thérapeutique.

Conclusion

Ce travail visait à présenter la thérapie de groupe dans l'optique un peu spéciale qu'elle acquiert au pénitencier. Les problèmes sont nombreux et les résultats souvent aléatoires. L'exposé cherchait aussi à dégager une nécessité impérieuse qui est à l'heure actuelle une préoccupation majeure et aussi une pierre d'achoppement; c'est l'énorme besoin d'un personnel compétent, un personnel capable d'appliquer et d'étendre une technique comme la thérapie de groupe à la majorité des prisonniers et capable aussi de modifier cette technique pour qu'elle s'ajuste parfaitement aux criminels.

Sommaire

La thérapie de groupe est utilisée au pénitencier Saint-Vincent-de-Paul avec les criminels comme technique de traitement et de réhabilitation. Poursuivant ce double but, elle fonctionne depuis trois ans. Elle

s'est efforcée d'atteindre les deux parties de la population pénitentiaire, la partie adulte et la partie juvénile. Avec les adultes, la thérapie de groupe, appliquée de façon orthodoxe, a donné des résultats satisfaisants, mais avec les jeunes, les résultats se sont avérés beaucoup plus décevants, à tel point qu'il a fallu conclure que cette technique ne pouvait s'appliquer comme telle aux jeunes délinquants. La nécessité d'une nouvelle technique s'est imposée pour toucher thérapeutiquement les jeunes délinquants. Le succès de la thérapie de groupe avec les criminels adultes s'expliquent par leur meilleure capacité à verbaliser leurs conflits internes et par leur rejet plus ou moins total des comportements criminels à cause des conséquences désastreuses qui en ont découlé. Ce dernier point les différencie nettement des jeunes criminels.

The results of a four-year experiment at St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary in group therapy are described in this paper.

Group therapy was first initiated in January 1955 by the John Howard Society of Quebec for a small group of English inmates. The group carried on for six months. In November 1955, when Dr. Bruno M. Cormier joined the staff, the group was reformed in collaboration with the John Howard Society. Later a French group was added; then two groups of young offenders, English and French. The groups have been led by the psychiatrist, the psychologists and social workers from the agency.

Generally, the approach has been similar to dynamically oriented therapy groups outside the prison. Members learn from one another, through establishment of relationships, where patterns of personality emerge and interact. The therapist is permissive.

Comparing adults to youths, there is a striking rate of recidivism in the groups. In the French adult group, out of twenty-four liberated, five returned; in the English group out of twenty-nine, five returned. Of the young French offenders, out of fourteen liberated, twelve returned; of the young English offenders, out of twelve liberated, ten returned. Totals: nineteen per cent of the adults were recidivists, and eighty-five per cent of the youths.

An important reason is that most of the adults were in their 30's, had reached a climax, and were ready to change. The group was of assistance in formulating their ideas, creating understanding and increasing positive motivation. The youth on

the other hand displayed more delinquency, less anxiety, little insight, less desire to change. They identified with criminal values, were indifferent to their problems, showed an inability to verbalize. Intellectually they were able to understand, but they could not give up criminal modes. The classic method of group therapy was therefore dropped as having produced few results, and a new approach will be attempted, analogous to play therapy, with a very small group, in the hope of reconstructing a more normal ego. The need is for greatly increased personnel to carry on increased work in this area.

The Limits of Our Imagination Alone Restrict the Effective Contribution That the Private Citizen Can Make*

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Civilized man has always had to contend with one ever present problem: what to do about the individual member of society who fails to respect the fundamental rights and privileges of his fellow human beings and who gives dramatic evidence of this failure by causing them death or injury or by damaging their property or appropriating their money, goods or chattels.

Society moved early to protect itself by creating a code of conduct to which all persons were required to conform. Human nature being what it is, however, it was recognized at an early stage that the code of conduct required appropriate sanctions for its enforcement if it was to be in any degree effective.

Punishments were therefore assigned for persons who broke the laws of society. In early days the various punishments meted out for various categories of offences showed little discrimination between differing degrees of seriousness of the offence. Initially, therefore, the law-breaker, if apprehended, was confronted with death, banishment or mutilation. Each of these penalties served effectively to set the law-breaker apart from the community: the first two removed him entirely from society and the third branded him permanently as a person no longer to be trusted or even associated with by other members of the community.

Administrative costs were, by modern standards, comparatively cheap: to inflict death required only the services of the headsman; banishment involved only the services of a ship capable of sailing to a far continent; the work of mutilation, although much in demand, seemingly called for little skill and apparently commanded modest pay.

On the grounds of efficiency and economy, therefore, one would have thought that punishment by way of death, banishment or mutilation

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was to be highly recommended. But however efficient and economical these methods were for dealing with offenders, it soon became apparent that they were not calculated to fulfil the primary purpose of punishment, that is, to protect the public by the prevention of crime.

In time these ancient punishments were, for the most part, abandoned. Capital punishment now remains only for murderers and traitors. The world has run out of distant, half-discovered continents and therefore banishment, in its original sense, no longer exists. Mutilation, as a physical punishment, would obviously no longer be countenanced in a civilized society. On the grounds of humanity alone these forms of punishment were bound to pass from the scene, but there was an even better reason for their passing. Except, perhaps, in the case of capital punishment for murder and treason — and even here there are sharp differences of opinion — they just did not accomplish their purpose.

Modern society has substituted punishments that are at least more humane, and, we like to think at any rate, more effective than those of earlier times. Today society strikes at the offender's pocketbook by way of fine, or alternatively, deprives him of his freedom, either conditionally by placing him on probation in the community or completely, by confining him in a prison. All three are undoubtedly designed to be punishment for the offender and an object lesson to other persons in the community who, for one reason or the other, might otherwise be persuaded to engage in similar forms of forbidden conduct.

The important point about these modern forms of punishment is not so much that they are more humane than the ancient forms, but rather that they constitute a logical approach to society's main goal in relation to the lawbreaker, that is to say, that the punishment should be the occasion and the means whereby an attempt is made to reform the offender with the goal of establishing him again in society as a continuing, law-abiding member of the community. It is perhaps unreasonable to expect that the best way of teaching human beings to live in society is to remove them from it. Man does not learn to swim without ever going near the water. He does not learn to drive an automobile without ever sitting behind the wheel of a car. He does not learn how to measure up to social situations until he has confronted them.

Therefore, although at our present stage of social development the public demands deprivation of the offender's liberty in certain circumstances, nevertheless it seems to be clear that the entire period of deprivation of liberty should be directed towards preparation of the offender to assume again normal life in the community as a law-abiding citizen. That is the fundamental purpose of a prison and that is the role which, it is to be hoped, the federal prison system will play, to an ever increasing extent, in the future.

It should be borne in mind that the federal role in corrections is a particularly difficult one. There seems to be very little that the Parliament of Canada or the Federal Government can do to prevent the commission of the first crime by an offender. The means of preventing the first crime are to be found in the churches, the homes, the schools and organizations designed to provide special aid for young persons — and none of these come within the jurisdiction of Parliament. The prevention of the first crime is not really a penal problem at all, but rather a social problem. The agencies of the Federal Government do not gain jurisdiction to act until the matter has become a penal problem, that is to say, until the individual, whoever he may be or whatever age he may be, has committed an offence for which he has been sentenced to imprisonment for two years or more. That individual may previously have been confined for substantial periods in training schools for young offenders or in other penal institutions operated by provincial governments.

It is usually the case, therefore, that the Federal Government gets its first chance to attempt the rehabilitation and reformation of the offender only after a variety of social and provincial agencies have been unsuccessful in accomplishing the common purpose. The fact that the problem of the federal correctional system is perhaps the most difficult of all is not, of course, any justification for saying that it is insoluble. The answer must surely be that a greater and more intensive effort is required.

The traditional Canadian method of dealing with the lawbreaker has been to send him to prison. If his sentence is for less than two years he goes to a prison operated by the provincial government. If his sentence is for two years or more he goes to a penitentiary maintained by the Dominion Government. In either case the offender is effectively removed from the community in which he committed his offence and he will not see that community again — nor will its citizens see him — until his sentence has been completed. In a federal penitentiary he will be permitted one half-hour visit once a month by three members of his family and he will be permitted to write one letter each week. For almost all practical purposes, as far as his home community is concerned, he might just as well have been banished to a place half way round the world. Indeed, there is a seemingly great similarity in principle between the sentence of banishment in olden times and the sentence of imprisonment in modern times.

I think that we are entitled — if not bound — to ask how successful our traditional system of imprisonment has been in accomplishing its purpose which, I think we will all agree, is to protect society. Let us look at your own city of Montreal where the situation is substantially no different from the situation that exists in other metropolitan areas of Canada.

Every year about 1,000 men are convicted in the criminal courts of Montreal and are sentenced to imprisonment for two years or more at St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary. More than a third of them could not, strictly speaking, be referred to as "men" because they have not yet reached the age of twenty-one years when they enter the penitentiary. And what kind of people are these thousand men who annually are sent to the penitentiary from Montreal? Well, two hundred of them have never been in trouble with the law before, insofar as the police records are concerned. For three hundred of them this will be the first time that they have been sentenced to prison. But seven hundred of them will have previously served a term of imprisonment in prison and more than half of this number will have served, at some earlier time, a sentence of two years or more in a federal penitentiary.

The doors of St. Vincent de Paul do not open only to let inmates in. They open also to release inmates who have served their sentences. Indeed, of the one thousand inmates who go into that institution in any year, 999 will sooner or later come back to the streets of Montreal.

This is a most important consideration because, if the public has an interest in seeing to it that the offender goes to the penitentiary in the first place as a punishment for his offence, it has even more reason to be concerned about what happens to that offender when he returns — as return he will — to the community. There can certainly be no ground for complacency among the citizens of Montreal if, out of those one thousand men who enter the penitentiary this year, four hundred of them will, upon their release, behave in such a manner that they will again be convicted and again be sent back to the penitentiary. But that is indeed the hard truth about the effectiveness of our traditional Canadian methods of dealing with the offender.

That raises the question that we in Canada should now ask ourselves: Are our traditional methods good enough, based as they are on the traditional "out of sight, out of mind" philosophy for dealing with the offender? Have we not failed to grasp and to act upon one vital idea — that these men will return to our communities and they will live in houses on our streets, patronize the same stores, sit beside us at football and hockey games, and attend the same movie theatres? They will bear no distinguishing marks by which you can identify them. They will, in appearance, be indistinguishable from any other citizens of Montreal.

How, then, can the citizens of Montreal be protected against the damage, pain and suffering which, we know from experience, will be caused to them by four hundred out of the thousand men who this year will have been sentenced to St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary and who,

having been dealt with by the traditional methods, will in due course return to the Montreal community? We do not know which particular individuals will constitute the four hundred men who fall into this class. All we know is that under the present system a thousand will go in, 999 will come out and at least four hundred of them will be unchanged in their attitude toward society and unable or unwilling to assume even the most modest obligations of citizenship.

Indeed the problem goes even deeper than the prevention of the damage, pain and suffering which these men are likely to commit upon their return to society. To the physical waste of the present system must be added a sort of social waste, the loss to society of the services of these men.

For those who suffer from contagious diseases and mental illness, Canadians have accepted a responsibility to provide hospitals and sanatoriums. Through government activity and mutual cooperation, we recognize our obligation to assist in the restoration to the community as independent, self-sufficient, contributing members, many people who, left unassisted, would continue to be unproductive members of society. Offenders against our laws must not be excepted from this responsibility. With them, as with the others, our objective is the same, namely: that, as far as possible and as soon as possible, each should be restored to the position of a productive member of the community.

How, then, in the case of prison inmates, is this to be done?

One answer comes readily to mind. If these men are to return, inevitably, to our society it may well be that our system of penitentiaries should be organized in such a fashion that its primary concern is to prepare the inmate for the day of his return to his community rather than to be primarily concerned, as has traditionally been the case, with removing him as far as possible from the community and its influence.

The adoption of this principle does not mean that our prisons would cease to be places of punishment for the offender. There is, and there must remain, in the prison sentence an aspect of punishment which requires a certain amount of discipline and a certain lack of comfort. The very nature of a sentence of imprisonment involves loss of liberty, and loss of liberty invariably carries with it the loss of the right to make whatever use the inmate wishes of his time. It is within this framework, that there is room for the application of the principle that the prison inmate's time should be devoted to preparing him for the day of his return to his community. His time will be regulated, to be sure, but regulated in such a way that it is used wholly in his interest and in the interest of society.

You already have in your own province a demonstration of a new approach to federal penology. For the past ten months, at Valleyfield, Quebec, the Federal Government has been operating a minimum security institution that is certainly a break with the tradition of federal institutions. It breaks with that tradition because the hundred men who are serving out their sentences there are not separated from the community by a stone wall. The wire fence that marks the perimeter of the inmate living area is designed more to keep out the curious public than it is to keep in the inmates. It breaks with tradition because guns are not kept available for the purpose of controlling the inmates. It breaks with tradition because every one of these hundred men works a full seven hours on each working day of the week. It breaks with tradition because visiting between mothers and their inmate sons, wives and their inmate husbands, and inmates and their infant children takes place in the natural setting of a living-room atmosphere, rather than through the wire screen or bullet-proof glass that serves to separate inmate and visitor in the traditional type of institution. And, I may add, the traditional air of tension that, in greater or less degree, characterizes a maximum security institution is completely lacking at Valleyfield.

These breaks with tradition have not made the citizens of Quebec any less secure in their homes and business establishments. Only one of the hundred inmates confined at Valleyfield since February last has attempted to escape. This he did without violence, by merely walking away. When apprehended, within a few hours, by the authorities, his primary request was that he should not be sent back to Valleyfield lest he suffer at the hands of his fellow inmates there for his breach of the confidence that had been placed in him when he was transferred from St. Vincent de Paul to Valleyfield in the first instance.

It was with the idea in mind that our traditional methods of dealing with offenders in the federal correctional system might well bear close scrutiny that, in December 1958, I appointed the Correctional Planning Committee of the Department of Justice which will be handing its Report to me within a few weeks from now. I have asked the Committee to plan a program for the custody, treatment and training of adult offenders with the object of achieving the reform and ultimate rehabilitation in society of as large a number of inmates as possible. The Committee is planning a system of diversified institutions by means of which, in accordance with generally accepted, modern correctional principles, the program of custody, treatment and training can be carried out effectively and efficiently. I am, therefore, very hopeful that as a result of the work of the Correctional Planning Committee we shall have available for consideration a blue print for a long-range program of effective treatment for inmates who fall within Dominion jurisdiction, as well as a

plan whereby the program can be carried on in institutions of appropriate size by staff members who are specially trained and equipped to provide the treatment and training that will be required.

But, as I have previously indicated, the focal point of our thinking tonight is not what happens to the inmate in the institution but rather what happens to him when he leaves the institution to return to his community.

One condition is vital to the successful rehabilitation in society of an offender who has served a prison sentence. That condition is acceptance of the offender by the community to which he returns. I do not by this mean to imply that we are under some kind of duty to throw open our homes and broaden our normal circle of friends and families to include former inmates solely because those persons are former inmates. Such a proposal would, I fear, soon fail in its purpose if it were put into effect. On the contrary, when I say that the community should accept the former inmate I mean that members of the community should strive to avoid being prejudiced against the offender solely on the ground that he has been a prison inmate.

A very great many Canadians do have just such a prejudice based on that very narrow ground. The prejudice finds its broadest application — and for the former inmate its most frustrating application — in the field of providing employment for the ex-inmate. So very many of our business firms, large and small, in Canada have adopted, almost as a matter of policy, the practice of refusing to employ any person who has served a prison sentence — and all this without any reference to the experience, ability or personality of the offender who may, especially as a result of his prison experience and training, be well qualified to perform the work that the job involves. Our hopes of re-establishing him in the community as a law-abiding citizen can have very little chance of fulfilment if, from the very beginning, we refuse him any chance of earning his daily bread and providing shelter for himself and his dependents.

Here is an area in which the prisoners' aid society, not only through its professional workers but also through its lay members, can fulfil an important function in correction work. That function is to break down, by argument and by example, the prejudice that exists against the employment of former inmates. I am suggesting that the prisoners' aid societies should, as far as possible, act as sponsors for inmates in whom they have confidence. It is clear, however, that we do not gain confidence in our fellow man merely by reading reports about him or hearing about him at second hand. Confidence in our fellow man is developed only by knowing him at first hand.

It follows, therefore, that if the prisoners' aid societies, through their members and workers, are prepared to undertake the work of sponsoring inmates upon their release from prison, arrangements will have to be worked out to enable those members and workers to meet and to talk with inmates at frequent intervals while the latter are confined. This, in itself, would constitute a radical departure from the traditional Canadian approach to prison visiting but I am ready to assure you that, if the societies themselves are interested in trying to do a first-class job on this aspect of correctional work I shall certainly be prepared to make the necessary arrangements to permit this to be done effectively.

The private citizen who undertakes to sponsor the rehabilitation in the community of a prison inmate will not see his work begin and end with a few visits to the inmate in the institution and a few discussions with prospective employers. The rehabilitation of an inmate involves his readjustment in the community, and readjustment, in its turn, involves the associations of the inmate with his family, his friends and members of the community generally.

Inmates are no different from other people insofar as the problems of life and living are concerned. The problems are not necessarily only financial. Family relationships may have deteriorated or broken down altogether. The inmate's wife may be ill. His children may be running around with the wrong crowd of juveniles. The wife, being forced by reason of his long separation from the family to support herself and her children, may more and more tend to conclude that she is self-sufficient and that he has no future place in her life. All problems of this type, whether emotional, financial or social, will, if not resolved, tend to make more difficult the inmate's readjustment when, at length, he does return to his community.

I do not for one moment suggest that the member of a prisoners' aid society who undertakes to sponsor an inmate should attempt himself to resolve such problems on the inmate's behalf. Many of the problems will be of a type that can best be dealt with by professional workers in existing agencies. But the sponsor should be in a position to bring together these agencies and the inmate or his family so that the problems can be dealt with quickly and realistically.

More than three hundred inmates are released on parole every year in the Montreal area. While on parole they receive the benefit of professional guidance and counselling from trained social workers. However, there is no organized system whereby the inmate, as he approaches the day of his release from the institution, can take part in a pre-release program that will enable him to have interviews with prospective employers and attempt to settle, at first hand, problems that he may have

still outstanding in the community. Here again the sponsor can perform a valuable service in the rehabilitation program by accompanying the inmate while he is absent from the institution for the purpose of learning again what life in the free community is like. This vital part of parole preparation is one that, it seems to me, could most effectively be carried on by interested members of the prisoners' aid societies.

I should not want it to be thought that, by setting out the few examples I have given, I have purported to exhaust the areas in which the private citizen can make a real contribution to the rehabilitation of the prison inmate. On the contrary I suggest that the limits of our imagination alone set the limits of the effective contribution that the private citizen can make to the correctional system in this respect. I am satisfied, however, that it is the private citizen who can most effectively aid in the rehabilitation of the offender in the community. We look hopefully to the private citizen — and especially to members of organizations like those that have organized this meeting tonight — to take up this challenge. If he fails to do so the problem of the offender in the 1960's will not be much different than it was two hundred years ago because the Canadian prison will be as effective a place of banishment as was the Continent of Australia at that time and the stigma of imprisonment will serve as effectively to make a social outcast of the offender as did the work of mutilation in that far distant time.

Le Ministre de la Justice traite de la philosophie sur laquelle était basée notre pratique avec les criminels et décrit la nouvelle philosophie qui guide la pratique présente. Il décrit le rôle des sociétés de réhabilitation et comment les citoyens participant au travail de ces œuvres peuvent aider.

La formation des éducateurs spécialisés à l'Institut de Psychologie de l'Université de Montréal*

JEANNINE GUINDON

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"Psycho-pédagogie de l'enfance inadaptée"

Afin d'éclaircir, comme il nous a été demandé, le *Concept d'Éducateur Spécialisé* de jeunes inadaptés, pour montrer qu'il s'agit d'une profession spécifique, parcourons, en survol rapide, le chemin que s'est frayé le métier depuis 1949.

La conférence d'Amersfoort et la naissance de l'AIEJI reflètent une évidence: des éducateurs ont maîtrisé leur perplexité devant une société minée par la guerre et dont la jeunesse subit des soubresauts d'une civilisation technique. Après "cette prise de possession progressive qu'est une expérience vécue", ils adoptent une attitude expérimentale, qui les libère de l'irrationnel.

A travers l'écheveau complexe des initiatives, des maîtres ont tenté d'implanter des réalisations effectives, en tenant compte et du nouveau, surgi en milieu humain, et du cadre scientifique, inéluctable, où s'inscrit aujourd'hui toute entreprise sociale.

En 1959, les Docteurs Le Guillant et Le Hénaff préconisent déjà une formation des éducateurs *synchronisant* la théorie et la pratique. Ils réduisent ainsi les objections au sujet de la nocivité d'une culture incomplète: "Cette prétendue nocivité vient plutôt d'une culture mal enseignée ou falsifiée, parce que coupée de la réalité." Ainsi l'accent est-il placé

* Conférence-thème donnée à l'occasion du Ve Congrès International des Educateurs de Jeunes inadaptés, tenu à Rome, du 17 au 22 juin 1960. C'est à la demande expresse de l'A.I.E.J.I. que Mademoiselle Guindon a présenté ce travail, destiné à servir de base aux discussions des participants. Nous tenons à rappeler ici que l'*Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal* est maintenant en mesure d'offrir la formation décrite dans ce travail et de lui donner une reconnaissance officielle par le "Certificat de psycho-pédagogie de l'enfance inadaptée", grâce à l'assistance de la *Fondation Richelieu*. De plus, le programme de formation exposé ici fournit un cadre indispensable aux recherches sur "le processus de socialisation", que le *Centre de Recherches en Relations Humaines* poursuit avec l'aide du *Conseil des Arts du Canada* et du *National Mental Health Fund of the Canadian Mental Health Association*.

sur le problème fondamental de toute formation des éducateurs: l'acquisition de *connaissances* et *d'attitudes* nouvelles, plus scientifiques qu'intellectuelles, dans un champ de travail unique. Le voisinage d'une Maison d'enfants et d'une Ecole d'Éducateurs répondrait à une exigence: chaque problème concret vécu dans le premier établissement s'appuyant sur l'enseignement donné dans le second, et le vérifiant.

Très tôt furent donc discernées les conditions souhaitables d'une formation efficace. La solution paraît très claire: en est-elle pour autant aisée? Une autre difficulté intervient, comme dans toutes les matières qui mettent en question les conduites humaines, et qui sont ignorées ailleurs. Elles tiennent—c'est le Dr Le Guillant qui écrit—"aux convictions issues du système de références idéologiques qui, consciemment ou non, sous-tendent l'action de chacun à sa propre éducation, à des habitudes très fortes, enfin à des "résistances" au sens que la psychanalyse donne à ce terme."⁴ Dans cette optique, apparaît désormais la préoccupation majeure: la personnalité de l'éducateur, son relief, sa disponibilité affective.

Le premier congrès international de 1952 enregistre la création d'Instituts pour la formation d'éducateurs. Mais l'éducateur s'interroge: "Quelle est ma tâche?"

On souhaite l'élaboration d'une "méthodologie applicable et fructueuse de la rééducation individualisée des jeunes au sein des groupes". L'AIEJI confirme sa raison d'être par ce travail qui annonce de nouvelles perspectives pédagogiques.

C'est au Congrès de Bruxelles qu'incombe l'entreprise de "jeter les bases d'une méthodologie *transmissible* de la rééducation" dans le but de faire profiter tous des expériences de quelques-uns. M. Van Praag livre le fruit de ses recherches effectuées à l'Ecole de formation de Middeloo, aux Pays-Bas. Il ne suffit pas "d'enseigner" à un éducateur comment tirer le meilleur parti de ses dons naturels, il faut aussi l'aider à *intégrer* la théorie, d'une part dans la pratique professionnelle d'autre part, et indiscutablement, dans sa personnalité. Cette intégration se fait à l'intérieur d'une équipe cohérente, formée du corps enseignant (des chercheurs), des candidats-éducateurs, de l'institution ou champ d'application (personnel et enfants).

Et cette intégration constitue l'*objectif capital* dans la formation des éducateurs spécialisés, par les moyens d'une vie intense d'internat, et la supervision.

La méthode pour aboutir à cette intégration émerge des convictions analytiques adoptées en Hollande. L'investigation des profondeurs permet à l'éducateur d'accéder à une maturité émotionnelle suffisante, et à une

lucidité indéniable, pour engendrer des relations adéquates avec les inadaptés (pris comme individus ou en groupe) par-delà ses propres conflits, qui ont bien des occasions d'être réactivés par l'un ou l'autre des échantillons variés qui l'entourent.

Cet appel à la psychanalyse éveille quelques réticences visant à "sauvegarder, au maximum du possible, la liberté intime des jeunes inadaptés, et des adultes en ayant la charge". Sans doute, pour fixer les conclusions des discussions engagées, M. Joubrel, revient-il, en cette même année 1954³ sur les avantages d'une "perspective dynamique" ou analytique, en méthodologie, avec toutefois cette réserve: la rééducation ne doit pas ressembler au traitement pour malades mentaux, les enfants inadaptés étant, pour la plupart, autres que les clients (névrosés) des psychanalystes. En livrant cette opinion, M. Joubrel nous dévoile la vraie perspective du rôle spécifique de l'éducateur spécialisé.

Au 3e Congrès de Fontainebleau, les questions gravitent autour du même problème, toujours à la recherche d'une formulation distincte. Il semble que soit remise en question cette fameuse méthodologie, autant peut-être dans ce qui en est *spécifique* que dans ce qu'elle a de *transmissible*. A vrai dire, là n'était pas le thème en 1956. Mais à travers les exposés sur "la relation: Educateur-Enfant inadapté" et sur la "dynamique des groupes", l'éducateur se poursuit lui-même dans son univers restreint. L'un d'eux ne s'écrie-t-il pas: "Encore des choses à apprendre en école, et qui pourtant ne relèvent pas purement de techniques formelles!"²

Le "spécifique" de la profession ne justifierait-il pas ce qu'il y a d'informulable dans cette vie d'éducateur dont la mouvance, l'impondérable et le multiple doivent être respectés, sous peine de reproduire un patron invariable, modelé d'avance. Ne doit-on pas conjurer cette propension au standard, en exorcisant la profession d'une organisation formelle de la méthodologie? Mais alors, qu'allons-nous transmettre, qui soit assez consistant pour demeurer une référence fixe? Et qui soit assez souple pour ne pas étouffer une germination? "Ne croyez-vous pas qu'il soit vraiment grand temps de déclencher aujourd'hui l'opération recherches?" écrit l'éducateur français cité plus haut. Que les professionnels définissent eux-mêmes leur propre spécificité, qu'ils "approfondissent la conscience diffuse qu'ils ont de leur action, et apportent le bénéfice de leurs études aux précieux outils de synthèse que deviendraient ainsi les écoles de formation".

A Lausanne, en 1958, M. Papanek ponctuera-t-il le débat? L'éminent praticien nous cite, avec une logique qu'on apprécie, à la lumière d'une expérience bien déterminée, celle de *Wiltwyck School for boys*, qu'il dirige à New York. Une institution a un but propre, avec sa propre

philosophie, sa propre politique et sa propre méthode d'approche. Que de meilleures techniques, empruntées à d'autres institutions, y soient appliquées, oui, mais toujours et exclusivement au service du seul but de l'institution qui est la réadaptation sociale, par le truchement de véritables relations humaines à instaurer avec les inadaptés.

Le primat semble accordé à la *supervision*, parmi les instruments efficaces de l'éducateur qui se veut lucide à la besogne. Mais pour la manier, il conviendrait de créer et de développer une hiérarchie d'experts, familiers de la psycho-dynamique et des enfants inadaptés.

M. Papanek s'étend, conformément à la suggestion du Congrès, sur le perfectionnement des éducateurs en cours d'emploi. L'éthique professionnelle ne requiert-elle pas cette formation, additionnelle et continue, puisque "chaque mouvement, chaque omission peut jouer un rôle tragique et décisif, non seulement pour la vie quotidienne des enfants, mais encore pour le résultat de tout le traitement de rééducation"?⁸ Ces acquisitions progressives s'effectuent au rythme des circonstances et de la science, au sein de l'équipe complète du personnel de l'institution, où les éducateurs spécialisés tiennent un rôle précis aux côtés des autres spécialistes (psychiatres, psychologues, etc.). Les échanges — sur les plans horizontal et vertical — illustrent une coopération et une intégration authentiques. Des éducateurs aiment à y discuter leur position, leurs approches et leurs méthodes de travail, ils participent à la découverte et à la mise en oeuvre d'une philosophie de la rééducation.

"L'exemple quotidien, l'aide mutuelle entre membres de l'équipe, voilà choses vécues et exprimées, d'où découlent pour chacun la stabilité et la sécurité affectives",⁸ conditions fondamentales pour garder son véritable rôle, et actionner les éléments d'une rééducation totale.

Avec ce tracé, bien imparfait — je m'en excuse — d'un historique de dix années, nous voyons se dessiner peu à peu le profil caractéristique de la profession d'éducateur spécialisé. Son mode d'approches encore tâtonnantes ne nous détourne pas du but poursuivi; au contraire il ne nous déplaît pas d'enregistrer certains retours, en gros plan, de ce qu'on croyait rangé à l'horizon paisible des solutions. Le matériau que nous travaillons esquive souvent nos tentatives. Il est, en nous et chez l'enfant, le plus imperturbable et le plus récalcitrant des adversaires, à moins qu'il ne se camoufle en partenaire conciliant, ce qui le rend plus impénétrable encore.

Le Congrès qui me prie aujourd'hui de vous exposer notre travail m'amène à mentionner le privilège de notre pays, le Canada, situé comme à la jonction de deux courants culturels: celui qui arrive du vieux continent et auquel nous nous ouvrons spontanément, un peu par atavisme, et celui qui nous emporte, avec les impondérables d'une proximité immédiate, aux Etats-Unis.

Me voici donc devant vous, avec un héritage à la fois européen et américain. Riches initiatives de pionniers au berceau d'une nouvelle profession, études systématiques de savants, il semble que tout soit dit quand je me présente ici, avec un bagage qui n'a d'inédit que la synthèse que nous avons tentée. Depuis 1952, à la direction d'un centre de formation d'éducateurs spécialisés organisé par l'*Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal* et annexé à un internat de rééducation pour enfants-problèmes sur-doués, le *Centre d'Orientation*, nos recherches personnelles se sont enrichies du concours apporté par le *Centre de Boscoville*, en banlieue de Montréal, où le personnel, formé par nous, s'entraîne depuis sept ans au service d'adolescents délinquants. Cette expérience corrobore les trois nécessités que le tour d'horizon effectué tout à l'heure met, je pense, suffisamment en vedette: nécessité d'une *méthodologie* transmissible pour acquérir une discipline de pensée et de travail; mais, pour viser à une *formation* intégrale, il faut y adjoindre la seconde nécessité: intégration de cette pédagogie curative dans la personnalité de l'éducateur et dans son allure professionnelle. Pour oeuvrer à cette intégration, l'emploi indispensable de la *supervision* constitue la troisième nécessité.

Chez nous, méthodologie, intégration, supervision opèrent de front, et se combinent inévitablement, supposant la sélection initiale d'une personnalité au solide équilibre émotif et intellectuel, personnalité qui doit devenir instrument principal du travail de la rééducation.

Les candidats-éducateurs, nous en avons l'inlassable souci, n'ont pas à se contenter d'une petite vie personnelle menée parallèlement à leurs études. S'ils le comprenaient ainsi, la présentation de notre méthodologie les délogerait vite de leur position d'étudiant satisfait. Inévitablement, les découvertes théoriques modifient, non seulement leurs attitudes éducatives, mais leur vie. En cours de formation, nous assistons à des mues, à des transformations de personnalité.

La première année d'études est consacrée le matin aux cours, l'après-midi au stage en internat de rééducation. Elle permet une intégration progressive, par l'observation objective des comportements des inadaptés, l'analyse des faits, la participation aux activités psycho-pédagogiques, avec l'aide de la directrice ou du directeur de stage. Une heure par semaine de supervision individuelle donne à l'étudiant-éducateur l'occasion de confronter son Moi avec les événements suscités par sa fonction auprès des enfants, dans le but de le rendre conscient, dans son travail, de cette intégration qui s'effectue. L'évolution de la personnalité même de l'étudiant, après cette première année de formation, nous fournit le critère d'une seconde sélection, plus nuancée et souvent décisive.

En deuxième année, le stagiaire — qui a ses cours théoriques réduits de moitié — devient responsable de la marche d'une activité psycho-pédagogique, en milieu d'observation ou de rééducation. Responsable aussi de quelques activités "de routine" telles que lever, repas, etc., il doit assumer un travail objectif d'observation des comportements individuels, en vue d'une étude dynamique et globale de certains jeunes inadaptés.

La troisième année, que nous appelons internat, consiste à partager en équipe, avec les éducateurs séniors, la responsabilité du climat et de la stratégie, organisée rationnellement pour l'observation ou la rééducation d'un groupe.

Durant ces deux dernières années, une heure hebdomadaire de supervision continue à définir et approfondir l'intégration amorcée en première année. Nous y ajoutons des *entrevues psychologiques* individuelles, destinées spécialement à la personnalité de l'éducateur.

Cette dernière technique de formation peut étonner certains d'entre vous. Veuillez accepter que nous nous cantonnions pour le moment à nos seules expériences. Elles jaillissent d'une conviction que les résultats affirment et elles nous amènent à brosser le profil de l'éducateur spécialisé, déduit des exigences du métier, c'est-à-dire dans le dynamisme de sa fonction, plutôt que de retomber dans les descriptions statiques de sa personnalité.

Précisons: pour nous, l'éducateur spécialisé n'est pas seulement celui qui a la charge des enfants en dehors des heures de classe et d'atelier. Nous avons opté pour la rééducation totale en internat, où les activités, qu'elles soient scolaires, manuelles, culturelles, sportives, ou autres, demeurent parties intégrantes de la rééducation: magnifiques occasions, échelonnées dans la journée de l'enfant, pour relever sa valorisation personnelle et contribuer à rétablir son équilibre psychique et son image de soi, en réajustant son identité sociale.

A partir de cette conception, qui se voe au fonctionnement global, dynamique, de l'être humain, et se refuse par conséquent à compartimenter la tâche rééducative, nous plaçons l'éducateur dans une vision d'ensemble, où il doit mener simultanément une vie personnelle de qualité, qu'il soit célibataire ou marié, et une vie professionnelle difficile. Ne serait-ce qu'à travers son métier, il doit se réaliser en de multiples et interférentes relations, et ce, à l'intérieur de deux groupes: celui des inadaptés, et celui des adultes engagés avec lui dans le même travail. Si l'éducateur n'assume pas totalement chacun des aspects fonctionnels de sa vie, s'il ne s'engage pas en chaque circonstance dans la fidélité à son être total, personnel, il deviendra la proie d'un labeur éreintant, au prix de son

intégrité intime, c'est-à-dire exposé tôt ou tard à la rupture de son équilibre profond. Je ne crois pas assombrir exagérément le tableau: qui n'a pas goûté au malaise des tiraillements et des essoufflements? pour la plupart d'entre nous n'y avons nous pas reconnu l'épreuve du creuset? Là s'expliquent en partie, pensons-nous, les départs, les changements de Centres, voire les abandons véritables chez les éducateurs dont la profession semblait pourtant mûrie. Nos entrevues psychologiques doivent parer à ces effondrements, nous en avons la certitude. Mais pour répondre aux objections déjà soulevées ailleurs, et pour apaiser l'anxiété que pourraient éveiller nos exigences, élucidons d'abord ce terme "d'entrevue psychologique".

Avons-nous le droit, direz-vous, par l'entrevue psychologique de faire surgir chez l'éducateur les ressources intérieures qu'il ignore souvent lui-même? Ces interventions, ne semblent-elles pas, pour certains, une audacieuse mainmise sur le capital humain d'un candidat?

Le but: une meilleure connaissance de soi, est indépendant de résultats psychothérapeutiques nécessités par certaines situations conflictuelles, donc relatifs. "La découverte de nos préjugés, de nos rationalisations, de nos illusions ou déceptions aboutit à la claire compréhension de ce qui se passe en nous et qui fait que nous sommes tels. Cette connaissance intérieure de notre propre dynamisme: la source de nos émotions, de nos penchants, de nos aveuglements et de nos errements fait croître cette partie consciente de notre Moi et facilite l'utilisation de tout son dynamisme. Une personnalité épanouie, si elle ignore son propre fonctionnement et les ajustements réalisés en elle pourtant de façon heureuse, jouira d'une adaptation excellente en situation normale, mais insuffisante pour quelqu'un qui se spécialise en rééducation."¹¹ Cela veut dire que la personne la mieux adaptée pour une vie normale restera inapte à la rééducation, si elle n'a pas une connaissance approfondie de son propre fonctionnement.

Nos entrevues psychologiques s'appuient sur cette évidence: toute personnalité, dont nous estimons pourtant le niveau d'organisation suffisant, devra se décanter de quelque élément imparfait, rectifier quelque mouvement affectif, libérer ou rassembler quelques virtualités éparses, pour tenir ferme au carrefour des forces occultes qui se déchaînent dans un groupe d'inadaptés. Par l'entrevue psychologique, l'étudiant-éducateur prend conscience que toute fissuration préalable de l'existence s'exonère sous forme d'insatisfaction de soi, de dévalorisation. S'il constate un vide en lui, s'il n'adhère pas à soi, s'il est scindé, c'est la fuite vers une pseudo-unité avec soi-même. Le travail, en entrevues, vise donc à éliminer certains résidus et à intégrer davantage, en la personne indivisible et libre de l'éducateur, son pouvoir de contrôle et sa richesse émotive, dans l'exercice de toute activité humaine digne de ce nom.

Nous inscrivons au compte de la personnalité de l'éducateur l'influence bénéfique de l'entrevue psychologique qui, loin d'attenter à sa liberté, l'amène à instaurer en lui la prévalence de l'autonomie sur le système défensif.

Un second bienfait en résulte conséquemment: les étudiants eux-mêmes nous le répètent volontiers après leur première année d'entrevues: "Nous croyions avoir compris les cours, mais c'est maintenant que nous en saissons la portée, à travers nous."

Il faut s'habituer à regarder en face ce potentiel humain qui nous rend solidaires des enfants qui nous attendent. Pour les aimer efficacement, il faut une capacité de sortir de soi, de se donner. "Mais pour se donner, il faut se réaliser le plus possible, parce qu'autrement on n'a rien à offrir."⁶

Si en nous quelque chose nous heurte, nous n'aimerions pas que les enfants nous le rappellent. Cela nous fait peur, nous redouterons de le rencontrer chez les inadaptés. On n'aime pas fréquenter chez les autres ce qui, en nous, crée un malaise. On devient rigide: Non, pas ça! ne parle pas de ça!

Or, il n'est pas indifférent d'expérimenter que les mêmes mécanismes psychologiques s'exercent chez une personne normale et chez une malade. "Un éducateur sous tension devient hésitant, empêtré à la façon d'un obsessif, ce qui ne signifie aucunement qu'il soit atteint d'une névrose obsessive."⁷ Les étudiants ont besoin de réassurance pour assimiler sans chavirer les cours théoriques, et se convaincre qu'un être normal fonctionne comme un obsessif, un hystérique, . . . parce que ces mécanismes sont tout à fait humains. Quand un éducateur a vécu ainsi à son compte des expériences profondes, quand il a dépisté son point vulnérable, il est prêt à prendre en charge, par le dedans, les comportements et réactions des enfants perturbés, sans compromettre sérieusement sa sécurité personnelle; il est donc plus libre dans les actes qu'il pose avec les enfants.

M. le Dr Lemay, dans un récent article⁸ auquel nous vous renvoyons, décrit magistralement et concrètement la position de l'éducateur spécialisé qui "tire une partie de son dynamisme des satisfactions éprouvées au cours de son travail . . .", mais qui affronte journellement l'agressivité, l'indifférence hostile et l'échec, des difficultés aigües "ressenties comme une atteinte personnelle, une diminution de sa valeur."

"Si nous ne formons pas nos travailleurs pour comprendre les sentiments inconscients de l'enfant, nous les plâtons dans une situation impossible . . . nombre d'entre eux ressentent douloureusement l'écart existant entre ce qu'ils perçoivent des troubles de leurs enfants et ce qu'ils devraient réellement en comprendre." Ainsi restons-nous bien dans la

perspective de la formation de l'éducateur spécialisé quand nous estimons que l'entrevue psychologique est le moyen par excellence de réduire cet écart évoqué par le Dr Lemay.

Je crois devoir insister maintenant sur la méthodologie au centre de formation. La façon dont y aborde les connaissances théoriques bannit d'emblée l'intellectualisme. Elle veut également pallier le danger des expérimentations fantaisistes. Pour répondre aux arguments rapportés tout à l'heure, disons que nous ne craignons pas une standardisation de la profession d'éducateur spécialisé. Nous tenons à une solide organisation de la méthodologie, estimant son efficacité en proportion de sa structuration. La rigueur scientifique, avec la cohésion et la concentration qu'elle véhicule, ne fige pas la vie; elle y apporte un atout sécurisant.

Dès le début, nous initions les étudiants à l'observation du comportement quotidien, pour découvrir les fonctions d'adaptation du Moi. Fritz Redl⁹ relate de perspicaces et longues expériences, d'où il conclut à l'existence d'un certain nombre de fonctions (il en compte 22) moyennant lesquelles l'individu s'adapte à la réalité extérieure, si elles sont positives. Sinon, il enregistre la défaillance de telle ou telle fonction qui fausse la souveraineté du Moi devant telle et telle réalité extérieure.

Notre emprunt à F. Redl s'augmente de nos propres observations, et les fonctions d'adaptation que nous étudions ne se limitent plus à celles de l'enfant agressif; elles s'étendent à l'individu normal. Pour être net, disons que chaque candidat-éducateur repère ses propres fonctions d'adaptation dans la vie de tous les jours.

Par exemple, pour découvrir la première fonction, nous invitons les élèves à se rappeler la frustration la plus récente qu'ils ont rencontrée. Et chacun de retrouver la manière dont il s'en est tiré. Il catalogue alors toutes les réactions possibles: agressivité agie ou verbale, intense ou non; retrait momentané ou prolongé. La compensation qui aboutit à une productivité autre est retenue comme fonctionnement normal, tandis que l'agressivité et le retrait nient une adaptation adéquate, quand le Moi se trouve aux prises avec une frustration. Le déficit de cette fonction requiert notre intervention pour aider le Moi dans une situation précise, surtout chez nos enfants où le degré d'intensification de l'agressivité ou du retrait cause une réelle mésadaptation.

Ainsi le futur éducateur spécialisé apprend-il empiriquement qu'entre les défaillances possibles de son Moi et celles de l'enfant inadapté, il n'y a qu'une différence de degré. Familiarisé avec quelques-unes de ses déficiences, il pourra y parer, s'équipant en prévision de telle réalité qui s'annonce ou, inversement, si son comportement le surprend, il dépistera vite la circonstance initiale qui l'a provoqué.

Attardons-nous encore à une autre fonction si souvent mobilisée chez l'éducateur spécialisé.

Au niveau phénoménologique, pensons à une peur que nous avons eue, une vraie panique. Quelle fut notre réaction? Fuite totale ou paralysie sur place, s.o.s., agressivité verbale ou diffuse, ou bien lucidité totale qui oriente la conduite en regard du danger?

Bien sûr, le choc émotif violent de la peur n'est pas coutumier; mais l'anxiété, ce malaise vague ressenti comme une accumulation de tensions venues du monde extérieur, ne doit pas être rare chez un éducateur spécialisé. Comment son Moi s'accommode-t-il, par exemple, d'une immersion dans le flot d'agressivité qui déferle au sein d'un groupe privé du pouvoir de contrôle?

Ou il s'en tient à une présence physique, avec perte d'intérêt et retrait émotif, enfoncé dans l'inertie qui neutralise toute participation réelle.

Ou il décharge une agressivité agie, par des gifles et tout un arsenal de sanctions.

Ou, pétrifié dans l'angoisse, il laisse aller, annihilé dans sa recherche d'une méthode d'approche.

Ou il demande de l'aide à l'extérieur.

Voilà des épisodes familiers et fréquents, qui usent l'éducateur spécialisé comme ferait un dissolvant. La seule lucidité qui relève d'un fonctionnement positif du Moi permet de s'en tirer soi-même, avec la technique d'approche convenable. Cette lucidité intègre l'émotivité personnelle, maintient dégagé et libre, au sein du déchaînement général. La fonction cognitive du Moi (qui donne à l'éducateur spécialisé de connaître sa valeur) permet à la fonction sélective ou de choisir, dans la réalité, des situations proportionnées à ses moyens d'adaptation, ou d'accepter celles auxquelles le milieu le soumet, avec confiance d'y garder intacte sa valeur.

L'étude des fonctions d'adaptation incarne l'a b c de notre formation, car elle permet de miser sur le positif qui existe chez l'éducateur et chez l'enfant. Mais là où la souplesse d'adaptation cède le pas à la rigidité, nous présumons une anomalie dans le fonctionnement du Moi. Nous pénétrons alors l'aspect défensif du Moi qui ébranle ses mécanismes, tel le fléau d'une balance, pour éviter au psychisme de basculer en cas de rupture d'équilibre.

Néanmoins, nous distinguons les mécanismes de défense dûs à un conflit intérieurisé, toujours liés aux névroses, des mécanismes de comportement, situationnels dans toute existence normale. Ces derniers seront d'un grand secours chez l'élève-éducateur s'il parvient, après la première

année, à en soupçonner quelques-uns dans son monde inconscient. Il apprend sans doute leur classification en trois catégories, selon que la réalité est niée, fuie, ou substituée; mais il ne parvient à déceler les siens propres qu'à l'issue de son comportement. En supervision il lui arrive soudain de s'éveiller au fait que c'est toujours le même enfant qui le fatigue; ou il s'étonne de sa facilité à résoudre théoriquement les difficultés, sans aboutir à une participation émotive; ou encore, il découvre la pression identificatrice qui l'a incliné vers l'enfance malheureuse afin de "résoudre ses problèmes chez les autres".

Tous ces bobos qu'il touche du doigt, loin d'exacerber ses malaises, sollicitent son attention sur les indices d'une lucidité moindre et d'une disponibilité réticente.

Enfin les techniques défensives caractérielles retiennent tous nos soins.¹⁰ Il s'agit d'une structure syntone au Moi, organisée en tenant compte du monde extérieur sur un mode d'adaptation influencé indûment par le passé. Armature permanente de défense, reposant sur une base de méfiance (inconsciente), elle est ce que nous désignons par structure caractérielle, l'objet par excellence de la rééducation, mais de la rééducation totale en internat, telle que définie par M. Papanek au précédent congrès.

Cette structure, apanage de la plupart de nos jeunes inadaptés, débouche sur la délinquance. Avec elle, l'individu ressemble assez à un pays en état de guerre. "On cesse d'organiser, de produire, de construire, on regarde au dehors d'où vient la menace, et immédiatement, on révise toute la distribution de ses forces en fonction du danger. En somme, c'est l'ennemi qui commande." Il y a harmonie, mais ordonnée à la faction. Dans nos maisons, la chaleur du climat affectif et la solidité du lien relationnel avec l'éducateur peuvent seuls démolir cette structure en attaquant le fondement de méfiance. Mais parce qu'elle est aussi l'organisation de gens normaux, et notamment du candidat-éducateur, et parce que nos enfants sont habiles à la détecter et à l'exploiter pour consolider leurs barrages défensifs, nous convions d'urgence le futur éducateur spécialisé à sonder son propre terrain.

Puis connaissant les manifestations du comportement extérieur et le fonctionnement des défenses, il consulte le dynamisme qui sous-tend les inadaptations.

Là, encore, nous ne livrons jamais à priori une information purement analytique. Nous procédons à l'observation directe du nourrisson. L'évolution de l'affection, de la naissance à la maturité, s'enseigne sous l'aspect génétique. Partant du phénomène observable, nous atteignons les processus et structures sous-jacentes, car "pour nous les phénomènes forment

un aspect seulement d'un processus dynamique, dont nous suivons la genèse. Nous les considérons dans le sens de leur histoire, des forces qui y participent, de leur rôle dans le présent, et de leur destin futur."¹²

De nos jours, la psychologie des profondeurs "tend plutôt à étudier les racines du Moi dans l'organisation sociale, alors qu'autrefois elle mettait l'accent sur les conditions qui affectent et dénaturent le Moi. Un être humain est à la fois et constamment un organisme, un moi et un membre d'une société. Il est impliqué dans ces trois processus d'organisation . . . il n'y a pas d'anxiété sans tension somatique, et pas d'anxiété individuelle qui ne reflète un souci latent, commun au groupe." Aussi étudions-nous les interactions de l'individu et du milieu pour discerner les "attitudes de base", espèces de patrons de comportement qui subsistent à travers la personnalité." "A chacune des huit étapes de la vie, la solution d'un nouveau conflit nucléaire ajoute une nouvelle qualité au Moi, un nouveau critère de sa force croissante."

La compétence clinique de Erickson¹ nous aide beaucoup dans les discussions de cas avec les éducateurs. Notre intérêt s'attarde à l'histoire sociale, se concentre sur les normes du cheminement humain et sur la solution adoptée à l'issue de chaque crise. Plus les dérivés apparaissent tôt, dès le premier palier de croissance, plus il y a anomalies graves à tous les échelons se succédant dans l'avenir, et dans toute la personnalité.

Cet acquis, dans le domaine de la psychopathologie, va de pair avec l'étude de la formation de la conscience, ses aberrations, la falsification du système des valeurs.

Nous avons souligné déjà notre engagement délibéré dans la rééducation totale. Or, le programme que nous avons déroulé jusqu'ici devant vous concerne plutôt l'aspect affectif. S'en contenter entamerait la conception philosophique et psychologique que nous avons de l'unité dynamique de la personne humaine. En vue du traitement complet des jeunes, il nous faut donc aussi amener les étudiants à saisir la participation du fonctionnement intellectuel comme contribution indispensable à l'oeuvre de la rééducation.

L'adaptation sociale suppose une communication avec autrui, des échanges matériels, émotifs, intellectuels. Par le jeu des aspects les plus divers et les plus complexes de sa personnalité, l'inadapté souffre et sème un trouble dans cette communication. Mais la variété même des facteurs somatiques et psychiques qui interviennent dans la socialisation plaide en faveur de l'unité de la personne. Les échecs scolaires, les blocages intellectuels, ou bien résultent d'une inadaptation sociale, ou bien l'engendrent. Il n'y a pas de cloison étanche entre l'intellectuel et l'affectif, une dissonance chez l'un se répercute dans l'autre. Si le dynamisme affectif n'a pas été éveillé et entretenu, s'il a été déçu, il se modifie, il bloque

certaines activités de l'intelligence, il donne une personnalité hermétique, asociale. Ainsi l'enfant qui démarre dans la scolarité: ce premier contact avec la société le trouve rétif, il ne veut pas y entrer, il ne veut pas partager la vie sociale. Ceci nous est assez bien connu; l'école dépiste l'inadaptation, mais ne s'en trouve que très partiellement responsable.

Bien différent, le cas de l'enfant, qu'il soit potentiellement délinquant ou non, pour lequel le passage du milieu familial au milieu scolaire doit nourrir l'aspiration sociale déjà en mouvement. Or, sa curiosité intellectuelle, c'est-à-dire ce désir d'augmenter sa construction mentale d'une pièce qui lui manque, recevra-t-elle de l'école (société) une réponse qui respectera et enrichira le rythme d'adaptation déjà en cours dans son activité cognitive? Pourra-t-il l'assimiler, et s'adapter?

Dans notre travail, nous opérons encore au stade des hypothèses; mais certaines expériences de rééducation semblent bien confirmer que, en regard de toute l'approche dynamique de l'affectivité, on n'a pas toujours prêté assez d'attention et d'effort à l'étude du fonctionnement intellectuel dans la personnalité totale.

Les lumineuses synthèses du psychologue Jean Piaget ont réussi à introduire une utile inquiétude chez ceux qui se préoccupent de la conduite humaine. Les recherches du grand maître suisse et de ses collaborateurs nous autorisent désormais à parler de rééducation du fonctionnement de l'intelligence, comme on parle de rééducation du fonctionnement affectif.

Nous pensons aux multiples techniques de la science orthopsychopédique: l'intérêt du traitement de la dyslexie, par exemple, n'est plus à démontrer dans plusieurs pays. Notre objectif, apparemment moins technique, se veut radical en faisant participer le fonctionnement de l'intelligence à la rééducation totale.

L'inadapté en général, et le délinquant en particulier, (nous ajoutons même l'adolescent normal, en crise) présentent les caractéristiques d'une pensée égocentrique, au sens donné par Piaget, ce qui, au niveau social, altère considérablement les échanges. L'enfant détruit le dialogue avec l'autre, ne pouvant ni le comprendre, ni s'en faire comprendre. Les difficultés supplémentaires pour assimiler les connaissances scolaires épuisent les tentatives pour se hausser au niveau du groupe scolaire. Une position boîteuse, des échecs répétés, le sentiment personnel d'incompétence et d'incapacité dégénèrent facilement en attitude de dégoût et de révolte, vis-à-vis du travail intellectuel, et de l'école, prototype de la société entière. Mis au ban du milieu inconfortable où il a, en vain, cherché des satisfactions d'ordre intellectuel et un rôle, il emprunte alors d'autres chemins où miroite l'attrait du métier ou de la délinquance, pour s'insérer dans un groupe social autrement constitué, qui détient le pouvoir de satisfaire son besoin normal de socialisation.

Pour nos éducateurs spécialisés, la rééducation globale comporte bien davantage qu'un rattrapage scolaire. C'est l'apprentissage, réalisé chez l'inadapté, à partir d'une découverte et d'une revalorisation de son potentiel intellectuel: la réadaptation sociale véritable exige la destruction de toute réaction négativiste en face des entreprises intellectuelles. Même les grands adolescents, nous ne les conduisons pas au métier sans, préalablement ou simultanément, travailler à socialiser leur intelligence. Pour démolir leur dédain, pour les réconcilier avec "l'école", nous orientons différemment les activités scolaires et, à travers elles, selon des techniques élaborées, nous reprenons le processus du développement intellectuel, pour le rebâtir et l'orienter vers son achèvement. L'émotivité se compénètre évidemment des revalorisations effectuées, la fonction cognitive se renforcit. Ainsi, patiemment, l'enfant parviendra-t-il à sa dimension sociale, sur tous les plans qu'il rencontre, et où il doit vivre en dialogue avec l'"autre" et où il se sentira partie égale.

L'étudiant-éducateur possède alors des convictions suffisantes pour s'emparer des techniques de rééducation qu'on lui présente. Tout traitement thérapeutique, comme toute éducation et toute évolution humaine, repose sur la relation. Ce postulat admis, l'éducateur va s'appliquer à instaurer une relation positive, par son dynamisme intérieur qui, communiqué, devient la force de contrôle du groupe et de l'individu inadapté. Muni de ses observations sur le Moi parasité par des forces instinctives, il lui fournit un support, c'est-à-dire un appui, en manipulant le comportement extérieur de l'enfant, sans le soustraire au groupe où il doit continuer à vivre et à réagir, grâce à un *programming* envisagé pour l'individu et pour le groupe.

Par exemple, pour fortifier la première fonction d'adaptation à la frustration qui se serait révélée négative, une technique individuelle aussi simple, qu'un signe convenu, amical, peut prévenir une déception et annuler l'agressivité.

Ou bien, au moment précis où la frustration sensibilise le Moi, le contact physique, comme de toucher l'enfant à proximité, ou une autre aide opportune, se prête à renforcer le Moi déficient. L'enfant, fier de sa victoire, reprend confiance.

Mais si l'occasion d'intervenir a échappé et que l'enfant, immanquablement, se désorganise, l'éducateur use d'une autre technique individuelle pour interpréter à l'enfant la réalité à laquelle il vient de se heurter.

Il n'est pas indifférent de mettre l'accent sur le style coopératif de ces techniques individuelles, car toute manœuvre qui s'emploierait à circonvenir l'enfant doit être condamné. Il ne s'agit pas de "l'avoir" et de "gagner la partie", il s'agit de s'allier l'inadapté pour une collaboration étroite non contraignante.

Le support au Moi — encore pour cette première fonction dont nous gardons l'exemple — se retrouve au plan des activités. Pensant à tel individu en préparant son *programming*, l'éducateur spécialisé voit à "budgeter" la frustration, à canaliser les impulsions, à doser l'organisation et la sublimation d'une activité, ou à réservé un rôle qui protégera comme un antiseptique le sujet fragile.

Une mise en garde s'impose pour que ces techniques ne dégénèrent pas en recettes. On ne les applique qu'après revue des indications et contre-indications, selon les insuffisances du Moi, la tonalité de la relation enfant-éducateur, et enfant-groupe.

La réussite de ces techniques supprime le comportement symptomatique. Témoin de sa propre amélioration, l'enfant se revalorise à ses propres yeux, et nous marquons le premier point de la rééducation. Pour les enfants dont l'inadaptation est légère, un succès semblable s'obtient par simple déconditionnement de milieu. Chez nous, le résultat s'évanouirait dans l'immédiat, au gré du milieu et des événements que l'enfant rejoindrait. C'est donc une fois le comportement symptomatique éclipsé que nous mettons en branle toute une stratégie de la véritable rééducation qui vise à l'intériorisation du système de contrôle. Pour ce faire, une évolution réelle dans les fonctions d'adaptation est requise, à l'intérieur d'une relation efficiente qui conduit l'enfant à l'identification avec l'éducateur.

Ces conditions ne peuvent s'évaluer selon une norme restreinte ou le jugement préemptoire d'un seul éducateur. Tout le personnel intéressé en confère. La rééducation s'arme ainsi d'une garantie contre une quelconque partialité ou un aveuglement spécifique, toujours possible chez les mieux préparés. Quand toute l'équipe, à l'unanimité, s'accorde sur le plan concerté, pour diminuer dans certaines circonstances, et progressivement, le support au Moi, elle favorise la réapparition du comportement symptomatique. L'équipe le sait — l'éducateur responsable aussi, qui doit alors utiliser les techniques de rééducation en profondeur, par contact interpersonnel, au moment propice, dicté par un événement de la vie quotidienne de l'enfant. Ce contact est encore un support au Moi, mais il ne s'exerce plus d'une façon subsidiaire comme dans les premières techniques. Il fonde une prise de conscience irremplaçable favorisant une mise en ordre de ses virtualités, au profit de l'intégration du Moi.

Cette technique du contact interpersonnel nous incite à ouvrir une parenthèse qui la rapproche de la supervision. Dans l'esquisse historique, plus haut, nous y avons fait allusion. On parle et discute de supervision; une réflexion du Dr Lemay⁵ semble dire qu'elle n'est pas encore clairement comprise: "on accuse la supervision d'être traumatisante, la relation entre le superviseur et l'éducateur pouvant devenir pesante. On la dit rigide et infantilisante." Pour notre part, nous ne la reconnaissons pas

dans cette description arbitraire. Une vraie supervision coexiste avec le libre dégagement de soi. On regarde à deux le panorama du travail. Celui qui le connaît mieux peut attirer l'attention de son disciple sur l'un ou l'autre aspect du paysage, il ne violente pas pour cela la vision de cet ami qui, devant l'ampleur des perspectives, apprend à discipliner son regard pour une clairvoyance exigeante. La supervision est un cheminement vers une prise de conscience prépondérante, mais la conquête de la lucidité reste affaire personnelle: à l'éducateur lui-même de découvrir son fonctionnement au travail. Le superviseur n'a pas à l'y amener de façon directive, il insinuerait un assujettissement à l'encontre de notre dessein. Nous affirmons sans ambages que si la supervision est "traumatisante", c'est qu'il y a erreur de technique de la part du superviseur.

Est-il besoin de préciser que l'étudiant-éducateur entraîné aux bienfaits de la supervision saura plus tard, avec l'enfant, envelopper de discrétion et de respect la technique de contact émotif? Elle non plus ne doit pas être traumatisante. Jamais. En supervision comme en contact interpersonnel avec l'enfant, l'éducateur spécialisé doit jouir d'une relation de qualité supérieure. Sans la relation, ces techniques deviennent malencontreuses et discréditent la rééducation.

Qu'il est agréable, autrement, de travailler en équipe dans le respect du rôle de chacun! Pour citer un exemple banal, une éducatrice s'inquiète d'un enfant. En supervision, elle en parle, elle relate plusieurs incidents significatifs. En revenant ainsi sur le vécu, en le verbalisant, déjà elle l'objective. Son interlocutrice intervient seulement pour demander: Qu'avez-vous fait? et brusquement l'éducatrice constate qu'à chaque fois elle a interrogé l'enfant: "Pourquoi fais-tu cela?"; elle reste ébahie de cette trouvaille qui peut sembler insignificante, mais le contexte de l'entretien lui a permis de toucher l'endroit litigieux. En décelant son mécanisme de rationalisation, elle prend conscience que ces incidents significatifs crée en elle un malaise. "Mais pourquoi ce fonctionnement chez moi, face à cet enfant?" Celle qui supervise voit peut-être clairement la réponse, il ne lui appartient pas de l'énoncer. Elle se contente de dire: "Ça c'est à voir en entrevue psychologique". Pour elle, son rôle de superviseur se limite là, l'éducatrice a d'elle-même compris l'alerte; à elle de frayer le chemin intrinsèque qui la mène au noeud de son problème actuel. L'essentiel de la tâche du guide est accompli. Nous dirons même qu'il est une réussite quand, après quelques années, il devient superflu. Bien des éducateurs séniors de Boscoville, assouplis par l'expérience, trouvent un raccourci dans la réunion de synthèse qui leur fournit l'éclairage d'une supervision collective et diminue la fréquence des supervisions individuelles.

La relation de confiance qui doit présider à la supervision entretient la spontanéité chez l'éducateur, la vigilance délicate, la compréhension encourageante chez le superviseur. L'éducateur va à son rythme, avec le signal discret du superviseur, lequel ne bousculera pas la marche. Patiemment, respectueusement, il va même pas, ami réconfortant, témoin attentif d'une laborieuse et pénétrante expérience de vie.

Ainsi, contact avec l'enfant, entretien en supervision, entrevue psychologique, autant d'aspects des relations de l'éducateur, autant de moyens pour lui de se former, de se perfectionner, chacun selon un but spécifique, lesquels chevauchent, se prolongent, sans s'absorber.

Cet exposé nous a maintenus au chapitre de la formation de base. Ainsi vont nos efforts. Non que nous minimisions la portée des techniques d'expression ou artisanales: peinture, poterie, menuiserie, etc. Rien n'est négligeable en spécialisation du genre. Pas plus que nous ne dénions aux méthodes de rééducation scolaire, pour dyslexiques, handicapés moteurs, etc., la vapeur thérapeutique des procédés. Ces techniques nécessaires alimentent le fond occupationnel de la vie de nos maisons, ce que nous dénommons "*programming*". Après notre formation, l'éducateur spécialisé peut choisir une compétence. S'il l'a acquise auparavant, nous l'utiliserons; mais ce n'est pas le diplôme et l'expérience d'un centre d'apprentissage qui l'accréditent auprès des délinquants. Un artiste en céramique, un spécialiste en art dramatique, un ingénieur mécanicien peuvent occuper les inadaptés, les distraire de leurs problèmes, non les rééduquer. Le métier entre dans les activités d'un centre comme cadre matériel ou comme agent de socialisation, au service de l'éducateur spécialisé dont la personnalité constitue le facteur primordial de la rééducation. Nous ne pouvons accepter le concours d'un artisan auprès de nos inadaptés s'il n'a pas notre formation psychologique. Cette intransigeance nous est dictée par la certitude que nous énoncions ici en commençant, citant les paroles de M. Papanek et que nous reprenons à notre compte: "Chaque mouvement, chaque omission peut jouer un rôle tragique et décisif, non seulement pour la vie quotidienne des enfants, mais aussi pour le résultat de tout le traitement de rééducation." Nous n'avons pas le droit d'agir en dilettante. L'éducateur spécialisé est un technicien de la réadaptation sociale: tout ce qu'il sait et tout ce qu'il a fait, il l'envisage sous l'angle de la rééducation. Avec cette préparation poussée et quelques années d'expérience, ceux qui offrent une telle disponibilité affective peuvent se consacrer à la rééducation en profondeur, par une supervision spéciale, au moyen d'entrevues, car nous sommes persuadés que les structures caractérielles délinquantes ne peuvent céder que par la technique d'entrevues avec une personne qui vit dans le cadre même de l'institution. La position de l'éducateur spécialisé, précise et limitée, dans l'équipe d'un centre de rééducation, vaut à côté du psychologue, du psychiatre et de tout autre thérapeute. L'éducateur spécialisé

est thérapeute, dans et par l'événement quotidien. Le psychiatre garde son rôle dans le centre, avec sa méthode; et l'équipe s'enrichit des expériences respectives qui se complètent, se consolident.

Cela devient tellement évident pour nous que les éducateurs spécialisés ont une place essentielle parmi les professeurs du centre de formation. En correspondance suivie avec nous, ils nous informent régulièrement de leurs découvertes et de leurs besoins — et, si on courait le risque de s'enliser dans la théorie, je crois qu'un bon nombre d'entre eux nous secourraient par le caractère même de leurs recherches personnelles qui interdisent toute stagnation. Plusieurs sont invités à présenter aux élèves leurs résultats dans le domaine de la réalisation. De notre côté, tout ce qui se publie des travaux de nos étudiants-éducateurs leur est communiqué. Ces échanges fructueux dégagent et aplanissent la piste que nous n'avons qu'entrevue et nous sommes bien conscients qu'elle est loin d'être déblayée.

Après une heure, je n'ai qu'ébauché ce que nous voulions vous dire, et j'ai évité d'établir un barème où, moyennant quelque truc, chacun puisse calculer ses chances de devenir un bon éducateur spécialisé. Lorsqu'au congrès de 1956, M. Claessens énuméra les qualités requises chez un éducateur spécialisé, un remous de stupeur traversa l'assemblée: "Comment trouver des êtres aussi surhumains?"

Certes, on ne les trouve pas . . . tout faits . . . et le "surhomme", s'il se rencontrait, pourrait encore décevoir. On n'implante pas un être normal dans l'impérieux univers des inadaptés, sans l'équiper en conséquence. La formation n'est pas un mythe, qui donne à l'éducateur de décupler ses énergies et de les dépenser sans marchander, au profit de la rééducation sans doute, mais aussi de son propre épanouissement.

Notre témoignage serait-il chimérique? Il est celui de tous nos éducateurs qui m'ont chargée de vous l'apporter en préparant cet exposé avec moi.

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Miss Guindon describes the training of specialized educators at the University of Montreal. This paper served as the work document for discussions on this topic at the International Congress of Educators of Maladjusted Youth held in Rome in June 1960. She gives a detailed statement of what is involved in preparing staff for the kind of treatment of juvenile delinquents given expression at Boscombe, the institution near Montreal that has attracted so much attention of late.

Provincial Jail Project at Fort a la Corne

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Sturdy togs and robust appetites, the universal stamp of woodsmen, are common display at a new lumber camp in the Fort a la Corne Provincial Forest Reserve, seventy-five miles northeast of Prince Albert. But there are a number of uncommon aspects about this woods camp.

The workers are eighteen inmates and two officers from the provincial jail in Prince Albert. The project was conceived by jail officials under the Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation. Forest management plans are drafted and harvest programs supervised by staff from the Prince Albert Region of the Department of Natural Resources.

Upon inception last November, the skeletal project consisted of five and a half sections of Crown forest land, a second-hand stationary saw-mill, and ambition on the part of the sponsors to make it fill a variety of needs. Commercial timber harvest, a higher level of jail inmate care, and experiments in forest management are basic objectives of the multi-purpose scheme.

"By most standards, the small venture shows signs of growing into a large success", comments jail Superintendent Ray Slough. The camp already boasts several permanent buildings. They were constructed from unplaned four-by-fours produced by the operation before the onset of frigid winter weather. In addition to some 20,000 board feet of lumber used in the camp buildings, approximately 100,000 board feet of rough lumber had been produced when sawing ended in late March.

The lumber, board and dimensional, was trucked by jail staff and inmates to Prince Albert for planing. Some will be sold to the Saskatchewan Timber Board to cover the cost of planing. The remainder will be stacked on the jail grounds for seasoning. It is slated for building use in the jail's anticipated farm expansion.

All initial capital expenses considered, the project paid its own way this winter. Retail value of the finished lumber is about \$10,000. Regular Crown royalties are being paid on all commercial production from the permit area.

No additional budget allocation was required from the provincial treasury to start the jail's new project. Superintendent Slough explains that starter funds came largely from an allied jail operation at Holbein, twenty-seven miles west of Prince Albert. Salvage cutting of diseased and inferior trees has been going on at that point each winter since 1955-56. The products, fence posts, rails and firewood, were sold through regular public outlets. That project is to continue indefinitely, the same as the newer one at Fort a la Corne.

Other factors contributed in keeping down dollar outlay for setting up the Fort a la Corne camp. Some of the jail officers, for example Deputy Superintendent Jack Gear, has previous experience in sawmilling and logging. The used sawmill was repaired and installed by staff and inmates. Farm machinery and equipment which normally stands idle through the winter was put to service. A large field tractor provides belt power for the saw. Out in the woods, a smaller farm tractor picks up sleighloads of logs and hauls them to the mill site. Log skidding to skid-way is done with a team of farm horses.

Foresters from the Department of Natural Resources will lay out each year's cutting program. It is estimated that the jail's area of operations contains about 7,690,000 board feet of jack pine with a minimum diameter of eight inches. There are also some 19,000 cords of smaller diameter timber suitable for fence posts, rails and firewood. Much of this is stunted younger timber where tree growth is too dense to permit good development.

Plans are to keep the camp operating the year round. A total of more than forty inmates have worked there, on rotational basis, since last November. In summer the men will assist forestry research by strip cutting, clear cutting or thinning out designated patches of forest. Results from these comparative methods will help foresters plan more effective woods management in other areas. Inmates this summer will go through the logged areas, salvaging fence posts and firewood from the tops trimmed from saw timber.

Arrangements are being made, too, for camp inmates to be trained as standby crews for forest fire suppression. A trailer-mounted tank pumper will be based at the camp. The men may be called to fight fires in the Fort a la Corne forest reserve, and adjacent areas if needed. Similar inmate crews of fire fighters have been maintained the past few summers at Holbein.

Apart from the commercial and research value of forest operations, and perhaps of greatest potential importance, the camp provides meaningful work for inmates, Superintendent Slough observes. He explains: "Most penal centres in Canada are adopting new ideas aimed at helping

offenders readjust for 'outside' life. I think the day is gone when inane tasks such as sweeping clean exercise yards and digging unneeded ditches were thought to hold value. True, they provided forms of activity but were an affront to inmates' personal dignity. And so, resentment against society was generated or aggravated, to the detriment of other treatment programs."

Mr. Slough adds that the newer concept includes giving inmates work with obvious purpose attached, and providing training for those who can benefit from it. This leads to the placing of a graduated amount of responsibility, as the inmate is willing and able to shoulder it.

Even in its infancy stage, the woods camp at Fort a la Corne attempts to apply this concept. Selected workers, many of them from northern forested areas, carry out their daily duties under virtually no supervision. For example, one inmate in charge of snow plowing roads from Highway 55 into and around the camp, will be away the entire work day. Often he would eat dinner with a selected family along the road and return to camp at night.

Up to the present time, not one of the camp workers at either Holbein or Fort a la Corne has tried to run away. In the words of one of the inmates, they "appreciate this outdoor life where a man can redeem his honor in his own and other men's eyes". Some of the men who have worked in the jail woods camps plan to put their forestry and sawmilling experience to use in making a living after release.

"Our first season's operations were concerned mainly with lumber production and having our staff gain experience", concludes Superintendent Ray Slough. "In future, we hope to develop the lumber camp as a sort of pre-release centre. At the same time, the programs of timber harvest, forest management and protection are to be intensified."

Ce camp est exploité par la Prison Provinciale de Prince Albert, Alberta pour la production du bois et le reboisement. Il a recouvert ses frais d'opération dès la première année. Ce qui est le plus important, c'est que les hommes ont eu l'opportunité d'un travail constructif.

Authority – Its Use or Misuse in Probation

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We cannot possibly undertake a study of authority in probation without first examining some of the basic principles of Canadian law, particularly the legal philosophy of punishment which underlies the treatment of offenders. Let us examine some of these basic principles, and consider the use of authority within this framework.

The Law and the Probationer

The law is an instrument of social control. Its purpose is to protect the welfare of all members of society who reside within its jurisdiction, and to provide a framework within which justice can be assured to all members.

The criminal law prescribes what kinds of behaviour or circumstances will be designated as crimes against society, and further prescribes the various negative sanctions or penalties that may be imposed for the commission of these crimes. It also takes elaborate steps to protect the rights of persons who are charged to ensure as far as possible that none will be wrongly convicted.

Oliver Wendell Holmes has stated that "The first requirement of a sound body of law is that it should correspond with the actual feelings and demands of the community, whether right or wrong".¹ Despite the number of times that members of the community voice complaints about the inequalities of the law as it is practiced, one seldom hears similar complaints from thinking people about the basic principles upon which law in a democracy is based. Our society holds in high regard the dignity of the individual, and his freedom to self-determination, as long as this individual freedom does not impinge upon the freedom of others. Socially acceptable behaviour, within the limits of the law, is preferred to the necessity of invoking penalties for breaches of the law. Society holds out many positive incentives for observance of this socially acceptable behaviour — the most powerful being prestige and the respect a person holds in the community. Self-discipline is preferred to externally imposed discipline.

The very necessity of having laws, however, is a recognition of the fact that these positive incentives are insufficient to maintain social order. "Until the human being has made such progress on the upward path of civilization that by reason of self-discipline he does not require discipline by the state, the law must exercise control over him."²

The negative legal sanctions or penalties which can be imposed by law are part of the law because they are thought to deter others from committing similar offences, as well as deterring the offenders from a repetition of crime. Many authorities in criminology question this basic premise, maintaining that punishment does not deter those who commit crimes. "If a man is free to decide, and is not affected by his experience he cannot be deterred from crime by the administration of punishment."³ Commenting on this, Chief Justice McRuer has said, "It is quite true that cruel and harsh punishments have not had, throughout history, the deterrent effect their authors intended — (but) this contention fails to recognize the fact that those who become criminals form only a small part of that portion of the population who would probably commit crime, were it not for fear of the sanctions of the law".⁴

Despite the arguments on both sides of the issue, the fact remains that the concept of the deterrent effect of punishment is a basic principle in law.

The imposition of these negative sanctions or penalties is through sentencing. "The sentence of the Court is the sanction imposed by law for a breach of the rules of society, where Parliament has decreed that such a breach merits punishment."⁵ Although imprisonment with whipping, and capital punishment can be imposed in certain selected cases of serious offences, the judge or magistrate is limited, in the majority of cases, to the use of punitive sanctions of fines and imprisonment.

There is, however, another kind of disposition available, in most cases, to the magistrate or judge. I have chosen to treat it separately from fines and imprisonment because its use is based on an entirely different philosophy from them — a difference which has not been generally recognized either by the bench or by the public. Probation, or the use of suspended sentence with or without supervision, is a unique form of disposition since it is based on the concept of *the deterrent effect of treatment* rather than on the concept of the deterrent effect of punishment.

In probation, the imposition of punishment or sentence is conditionally suspended subject to the future good behaviour of the offender. The Criminal Code spells this out clearly in Section 638 which reads in part ". . . the Court may . . . instead of sentencing him to punishment, suspend the passing of sentence, and direct that he be released upon entering into a Recognizance . . .".⁶

The function of probation supervision is two-fold. It involves "the use of legal authority for the protection of the probationer from 'unwise use of personal freedom', and as such it is an authoritarian, restrictive, and disciplinary measure".⁷ However, it is also characterized by educational, therapeutic and rehabilitative objectives, these objectives being realized by the skilled use of the inter-personal relationship between probation officer and probationer.

It seems to the writer that there are four reasons why the non-punitive nature of probation has escaped general acceptance and understanding. (1) Probation is the first disposition to become available to the court which is not based on the concept of the deterrent effect of punishment. (2) Because probation is part of criminal adjudication, its unique philosophy tends to become lost in the traditional punitive philosophy upon which all other kinds of adjudication is based. (3) Although incorporated into written law for well over fifty years, probation systems of any size are found in only two provinces of Canada, and probation has been used extensively in these provinces for less than ten years. (4) A substantial segment of the population feels that the only way to deal with the offender is through the use of punishment. Any philosophy which runs counter to this is received with deep suspicion, and any efficacy it may have is rejected out of hand. To such people, probation means being "let off" and they inquire into the matter no further.

That this feeling is inaccurate, and basically unfounded, I hope the following remarks will illustrate.

The Court and the Probationer

The function of the court is to administer the law — to establish guilt or innocence, and subsequently to impose an appropriate sentence, if guilt is established. In each case appearing before it, the court has a dual responsibility. ". . . It is generally accepted that the first object of a court, in the matter of punishment or treatment of the offender, should be to deter persons from committing crime, and the second object, to reform, as far as practicable, those who commit them."⁸

One important consideration which must be kept in mind by the court in fulfilling this dual responsibility is public opinion, for ultimately, it is public opinion which makes the law and changes it. Therefore, "the judge must use public opinion constructively as an aid in sentencing, but he must not be dominated by it; he must respect it, but not be enslaved by it; he must lead the community toward higher standards of justice and treatment, but must not be so far ahead of it that it loses sight of

him".⁹ By the same token, he should not be so far behind it that he does not take cognizance of new methods of treatment which are accepted by society and incorporated in law.

One must be cautious in assessing public opinion. The most vocal members of the community do not necessarily represent public opinion, even though they may be the ones most often heard. It ranges through the whole spectrum of human emotions. The colours of the spectrum range from red to violet, and include endless variations of intermediary shades. When all these colours and shades are placed on a wheel and spun very rapidly, they give the impression of white. For the purposes of the administration of justice, only the "white" of public opinion has validity, and the wisdom of Solomon is required to assess it accurately.

A magistrate or judge, once the guilt of the offender has been established, is faced with the responsibility of imposing the appropriate sentence. "There is probably no more difficult task that any judicial officer has to perform than the imposition of the appropriate sentence on a person convicted of crime, and there is no place in the administration of justice where there is greater danger of injustice being done."¹⁰ The nature and the severity of the penalty imposed by a magistrate in each case before him will depend on several factors: (a) the amount of discretion given him by law; (b) his assessment of public opinion in the case; (c) the nature and severity of the offence; (d) his assessment of the offender before him; (e) finally, and most important, the kind of person he is, his objectivity, the insight he has into the possibilities, for the protection of society and rehabilitation of the offender, of the alternative dispositions at his disposal.

Probation is one of the dispositions available to the court in most criminal cases. It differs from others in that it is a non-punitive form of disposition which stresses the rehabilitation of the offender to a much greater degree than the imposition of fines, imprisonment, or other forms of punishment. Herein lies its strength and its potential. If selectively and thoughtfully imposed, it offers adequate protection to the community at much less cost than imprisonment; at the same time it can rehabilitate and reform the offender to a degree that the traditional forms of punishment can never hope to attain.

The manner in which probation is used varies widely from court to court. Some magistrates have a very limited concept of probation, looking upon it as clemency, or as an easy way to facilitate payment of restitution. Others regard probation as predominantly punitive, and impose many restrictions on all probationers, for moralistic and purely punitive reasons — such as avoidance of pool halls, total abstinence,

compulsory church attendance, etc., with no thought as to whether or not these restrictions meet the individual needs of the probationer. Other magistrates have a deep insight into the treatment potential of probation and impose rules which have a definite purpose for the individual probationer, namely, his avoidance of further offences, and his eventual social rehabilitation. These magistrates make extensive use of the pre-sentence report as a part of this plan, realizing that without this information, properly individualized treatment cannot be prescribed.

The Community and the Probationer

If one finds a variety of opinion among magistrates on the purpose of probation, one finds no less divergence of opinion in the community at large. Public opinion has been likened to the sea which extends from shore to shore, and ebbs and flows in response to many varied circumstances.

The tides give an indication of the ebb and flow of the sea, and can be measured. Similarly, trends in public opinion can be measured in a general way. With some justification it can be said that public opinion looks upon any convicted person as one who should be banned from society. Punishment has been the traditional method of dealing with offenders throughout history. It is only in the last hundred years that this method has begun to be modified. Although there has been considerable growth in a more positive approach towards treatment of offenders, the concept of vindictive retribution upon which the older methods of punishment of offenders was based is still prevalent in society.

Although formal punishment for the commission of crimes is left to the courts, society is not content with the degree of punishment. There are other more subtle ways that punishment is meted out by society. Nor is there much reason to believe that people, at this juncture, look at probation as an individualized form of treatment sufficient to protect society and aid the offender. Many probationers find it very difficult to obtain or keep employment when their status is known. They are not accepted by the armed services. Although the offence committed may cast no doubt on the probationer's basic reliability on the job, or on his basic honesty (i.e. assault, public mischief, etc.), he cannot be bonded. In many cases his conviction bars emigration. Long after the completion of probation, he continues to carry the stigma of a convicted person in many ways.

The Probation Officer and the Probationer

The probation officer is an officer of the court. The only legal authority he possesses is the authority vested in him by the court, and by the law which the court administers. He must be mindful of the

court, the law, and public opinion, and not work at cross purposes to them. He has the dual responsibility which the court has, but so long as the probationer is abiding by the law and the directions of the court, his main duty is helping the offender toward social rehabilitation.

The relationship between probation officer and probationer is primarily a legal one, with the former being in the position of supervisor, the latter in a restricted supervised status. The probationer is likely to be aware of authoritarian implications which come with his new supervised status under the court. He is also likely to become aware of the stigma and punitive thinking prevalent in the community. He is certainly less likely to be aware of the potentially rehabilitative aspects of his status.

Therefore the probation officer has the problem of recognizing the various facets of the probationer's life situation and helping him to accept them, and work within them. The degree of concern the probationer has, and his method of reacting to it, will vary from person to person, but the probation officer must be aware of and be ready to help the probationer work within these facts of life. If the probationer finds it hard to obtain employment, the probation officer should put forth an extra effort to help. If the probationer is smarting under the stigma of conviction, the probation officer must listen and accept him as a person and help him "live it down". If others are undermining his self-confidence, the probation officer should show his acceptance of him as an individual, and his faith in his capacity to change.

It is the writer's contention that this can best be accomplished when the probation officer, although an agent of authority, does not act as an agent of punishment. So long as the probationer is abiding by the terms of the recognition, no punitive elements should enter the relationship. When a breach occurs, the probation officer should not personally assume the punitive role, but should return the violator to the agent of punishment, the sentencing magistrate or judge. He is the person to whom society has given the power to judge, and only he has the legal discretion to decide whether or not a form of punishment should be ultimately imposed. The probation officer has authority, but he should exercise his authority in a non-punitive manner.

Having dealt with the oyster, let us now consider one quality of the pearl which has begun to develop within the oyster. When one first thinks of "conflict with authority", one's mind focuses on behaviour — what the person in conflict *does*. The following remarks, although they do not ignore behaviour, refer more specifically to the psychological problems which underlie the behaviour of a person in conflict with authority, which in turn govern the form the behaviour takes.

The Rationale Behind the Use of Authority in Probation

For many years the social services, and particularly social work (to which probation seems to have the closest affinity), maintained that it was impossible to help persons resolve their problems within a framework of authority. Authority implied punishment and force, and, social workers maintained, people had to be motivated to change voluntarily, not as a result of direct or implied force. Positive motivation was almost a cornerstone of case work. Those placed on probation certainly had not asked for this service, and, therefore, would not be willing to accept the kind of help that social work could offer.

This idea is still found among some members of the social work fraternity who avoid the term authority as the groundhog his shadow. However, time has substantially modified this position. Authority, it is now realized, is inherent in all aspects of life within society, and it is not *whether* authority should be used, but *what kind* of authority, and *how*. If the purpose of social work is to help people adjust more adequately to themselves and to society, the adjustment to authority, as an integral facet of society, must be taken into account.

Joseph P. Murphy has stated, "The psychology behind the so-called authoritarian approach in probation is not different from the psychology which recognizes that the best regulated family, school, club, factory, or office is the one in which the rights of the individual are respected and safeguarded, but which requires also that wherever the behaviour of an individual is harmful to the group, that individual must be subjected to discipline. The probation officer, as a good correctional social worker, will bend every effort to assist the probationer in adjusting himself in the community. The effort will include minor disciplines here and there. Where the effort fails entirely, drastic disciplinary measures have to be invoked for the good of the community, such as revocation of the probation status and commitment to an institution. In all of this, the officer will be acting as logically as the parent who deprives a child of a pleasure, the teacher who deprives a pupil of a privilege, the club that imposes a fine or expels a member, or the employer who fines or discharges an employee".¹¹

The Probationer and Authority

In any discussion of conflict with authority, we must recognize the fact that we all suffer, in some degree, from such conflict. Everyone, no matter how secure his background, has felt the sting of real or imagined injustice meted out by some person in authority. We realize that there are laws within which we must live and at times these laws bind when they come into conflict with our personal wishes.

All persons on probation have had some negative experience with authority, which differs from that of other members of society in degree, rather than in kind. Most adult probationers have gone through the experience of arrest, court, and detention. Many have had previous run-ins with the police. Some have "done time" in training school, jail, or other penal institution. In all these experiences they have felt the anxiety, frustration, shame, and hostility of those who have lost the privilege of self-determination and, temporarily at least, have become branded as outcasts. Although they are immediately the authors of their own misfortune, the negative feelings are still very real. (An illustration of this is the man who burns his hand on a hot stove. He is responsible for putting his hand on it, but even though he realizes this, the pain he feels is not lessened.) Most persons come out of these experiences with a confused, disillusioned, suspicious and bitter reaction toward authority and the agents of authority.

The cause often lies deeper. Time after time pre-sentence reports bring to light evidence that this negative reaction to authority figures starts, not in the community, but in the home. Time and again one finds traumatic experiences such as separation from parents, rejection, inconsistency in training (through under or over-indulgence), harsh and cruel discipline, as common factors in the histories of persons who subsequently come into conflict with the law. When we realize that parents are the first agents of authority experienced by the child we see more clearly that fear, distrust, and hate for authority is often learned in early childhood, and re-inforced by other conflicts as the child grows toward adulthood.

As a child who has been frightened by a dog may transfer this fear to all dogs, so these rebellious feelings toward parents and their authority are often transferred to other authority figures — the teacher, the boss, the police, and the probation officer. These later authority figures can help to modify, or to reinforce, the previously held feelings. The greater the authority the person has over him, the greater will be the negative reaction; but also, the greater will be the potential for effecting a positive change in these negative feelings.

Not all probationers have a serious conflict with authority. The accidental offender, whose crime is a result of a lapse in judgment, the mentally retarded offender, the person with the more secure home background, and some others may have relatively little such conflict. Conflict with authority seems more pronounced among those who commit aggressive crimes "against persons or property" — a symbolic hitting-out against society.

However, the authority-laden probation officer often becomes, for the beginning probationer, someone imbued with feelings associated with former authority figures, and he will expect the same kind of punitive action from the probation officer as has been formerly experienced. Just how the probationer reacts will depend on (a) the depth and kind of these negative feelings; (b) the length of time that these feelings have been held, and how often they have been reinforced; (c) the probationer's way of behaving when these feelings are experienced; (d) the degree to which the probationer may have come to understand these feelings, and his ability to separate one authority figure from another. One probationer will try to be a "boot polisher"; another, sullenly silent; another will "spit venom" as he comes through the door. The officer, who is the necessary recipient of this hostility, should remember that the reaction is based on what the new probationer *expects* of him, not on the kind of person he is. The probation officer becomes, in the mind of the probationer, the sum total of all former punitive authority figures, and becomes a *symbol* of authority, rather than a *new person* with authority.

One who has ventured out on the ice and has fallen through is going to be much more cautious before he chances another soaking. He will test the ice carefully, particularly if he has tried it again and again and found that it would not sustain his weight. In the same way a probationer who has been soaked by previous negative experiences with persons in authority, will be wary of venturing onto the ice of a new experience with his probation officer, until he has cautiously weighed its potential for hurting him again. Some have been so hurt and disillusioned that they will not venture forth again, no matter how firm the ice seems. Others will never stop testing.

This testing may take many forms, other than overt hostility or sullen silence: neglecting to report on time, staying out after curfew, and breaking other minor rules, trying to put the "touch" on the probation officer, becoming over-dependent on him, and many other forms that most officers have experienced from time to time.

Most probationers confine their testing to relatively minor things, such as those noted above. Those who test in a more extreme manner usually are emotionally disturbed and need psychiatric help. The officer faced with this kind of problem should seek the assistance of a psychiatrist in assessing how he should handle it.

No matter how the probationer reacts, however, it is essential that the ice be firm, that the testing be permitted as long as it does not push the probation officer beyond the legal limits set by the recognizance, within which the probationer must abide.

The Probation Officer and Authority

How then can the probation officer use his position of authority to help resolve this conflict?

Reference has been made to the deprivations experienced by many probationers who have had disillusioning experiences with authority figures. Let us underline the fact that the role of the probation officer is not to attempt to make up for all the former deprivations. It is rather to give the probationer a *new experience with authority*, to help him see that authority is a necessary and positive thing as well as a negative one, depending on how he adjusts to it and behaves toward it. Let him see that persons in authority, even though they are firm and impose discipline when necessary, *can* be consistent, just and sincerely interested in him; and finally, that the development of *self-imposed* authority in harmony with the demands of society is a desirable state towards which he should strive.

Not only is there a reaction against rules which everyone feels at times, but there is a certain safety and security which rules can provide. One is the "heads" and the other the "tails" of authority. The probation officer is in a position to help the probationer look at both sides of the coin.

Having stated our general frame of reference, let us consider some of the more practical aspects of it. This may involve a re-statement of some points or inferences formerly made, but they bear repeating for purposes of clarification.

(a) *The Probationer Does Not Forget* *The Authority Vested in The Probation Officer*

A constant companion in all dealings the probationer has with his probation officer is his realization of the inherent authority the probation officer has over him — his "restricted, supervised status". Whether in a formal interview, during a home visit, or over coffee, this influences the relationship between them. This is recognized by the probationer and must be remembered by the probation officer. Further, the way the officer uses his authority will have a great influence, positive or negative, on the way in which the probationer judges not only him, but the court, the law, and society. The probation officer by his behaviour must neither flout his authority nor overstep it, nor must he be apologetic for it. He must accept its inevitability, and show that despite its existence he can still be fair, just, and helpful.

The authority of the probation officer will be more keenly felt by the probationer in the early stages than later on when the relationship deepens and the counselling role of the probation officer takes over more strongly. A simple analogy is the pull of gravity that impedes the athlete starting to run the 100 yard dash. Until the runner gains full momentum, gravity seems to impede his forward motion to a greater extent than when he reaches his stride. The greater the speed attained by the runner, the less is the effect gravity seems to have upon him. However, the pull of gravity is ever present, and if he cuts down his speed, he feels the pull of gravity more strongly. So with authority in probation supervision. It is ever present in the relationship and the probation officer must demonstrate that the degree to which his authority will be used depends solely on the degree to which the probationer lives within the rules of probation and is trying to work toward his own social rehabilitation. If the probationer lessens his speed in working toward this goal, however, the authority aspect of the officer must become greater.

(b) *The Probation Officer Must See That
The Probationer Lives Up To His Conditions of Probation*

Neither the probationer nor the probation officer must forget the fact that the probationer is under a court's supervision. He has broken the law, and the law has provided that he shall have an opportunity to prove himself capable of staying in the community. To do this, he must live within certain conditions imposed by the court. These conditions should be fully explained to him at the beginning of the period of supervision. The probation officer *must* see that the probationer lives within them. This is a most important part of the probation officer's job and is one of the most important ways in which his authority is used. If this is not done, probation will lose the respect and support of society. Nothing will bring the probation officer, his authority, and the law into disrespect faster than for the probationer to come to think that probation is all bluff, that he can "beat the rap" because the officer does not keep himself informed of his activities.

For most probationers, the fact that they have appeared in court, are on probation, have to report, and live within other conditions is a sufficient reminder of their "restricted, supervised status". But for those who already have a strong disrespect for authority and are actively fighting against it, a more frequent reminder is necessary. Anything that can be interpreted as a weakness in the authority of the officer, or the manner in which he uses it, will heighten the disrespect the probationer already has. This may lead to a more drastic testing, and eventually necessitate the return of the probationer to court.

Our job as probation officers is to prevent this happening. Nothing will have a greater deterrent effect on the recalcitrant probationer than the knowledge that the officer knows or will learn about his misdeeds. Although the aim of probation is to help the probationer take responsibility for his own actions and impose self-discipline, it may be necessary for the probation officer to assume this responsibility for him until he is able to take over himself. This is one great advantage of working closely with the probationer's family, relatives, employer, and others, as long as they are aware of the probationer's status, and are sincerely interested in his welfare. This is also where surprise visits, selectively and thoughtfully made, may have a deterrent effect on the testing probationer.

The necessity of keeping track of his activities should be interpreted to the beginning probationer so that he knows what to expect, and the purpose of the investigations. It should be recognized with him that he is not going to like it — no one would. However, hopefully, he can be helped to at least accept it. Once this supervisory function is made a part of the probation order, it should be used, until such time as the officer is satisfied that it need not be continued. Like the man who put his hand on a stove because it feels so nice to take it off, the removal of such a restriction can have a positive effect on the probationer's faith in himself, because the court shows faith in him. The same advantage can be gained by allowing the probationer to report less frequently, recommending early discharge, and other special considerations.

(c) *The Implications Of This Conflict
Can Be Resolved Through The Interview*

So far we have dealt with two of the many facets of the authoritarian relationship between the probation officer and the probationer, and have pointed out that in spite of their authoritarian implications they can be used in a positive therapeutic way to the long-run benefit of the probationer. Through the benign use of his authority the officer can demonstrate to the probationer that authority is a two-sided coin. With many probationers, whose feelings toward authority are not too negative — those who see their probation officer as a person rather than a symbol — such a demonstration is enough. Realizing that the officer is anxious to be helpful, they can move quickly into a counselling relationship.

We have stated that many beginning probationers react in terms of what they expect of the new authority figure rather than what he is. For these persons, having a more serious conflict with authority, the demonstration alone is often not sufficient. This kind of authority is new and the probationer cannot understand it at first, nor can he accept it. What he does not understand upsets him, and this is the reason that he tests.

When it begins to sink in that "this guy is different from the others", he will usually want to talk about it, and will broach the topic either directly or in a very round-about way. By word or action, he will say, "What's the gimmick?" or "Why are you different?" or "What's in it for you?" This is where the skillful use of the interview can result in the whole issue being brought into the open and being looked at by the probationer and the officer. Why does he feel this negative reaction to authority? What are the previous experiences that have contributed to this feeling? Why does he feel differently now? If there is one exception to the rule (i.e., the probation officer), could there be others? What are rules for anyway? Are they all vindictive, or can they be helpful, too? Does not the probationer have enough freedom in life to live in a satisfying manner, even though there are rules within which he must abide? Could not the probationer develop a set of rules which are reasonable and within the framework of society, and impose these rules on himself, rather than fighting them as he has — fighting which has resulted in externally imposed rules being forced upon him?

Gradually over weeks or months, these questions can be discussed as they are brought up by the probationer, until he can come to see both sides of authority and assume responsibility for his own actions in harmony with the demands of society.

Summary

Any study of the use of authority in probation presupposes (a) some concept of the philosophy of probation as found in the body of law within which the office works, and (b) some idea of the dynamics of authority as it is found in the inter-personal relationship between the probation officer and probationer.

Most of the kinds of dispositions which may be imposed upon a convicted offender are based on the legal concept of the deterrent effect of punishment. Probation differs from these, however, as it is based on a non-punitive philosophy — the philosophy of the deterrent effect of treatment.

In the matter of punishment or treatment of an offender, the court has a two-fold function: (a) the protection of society and (b) the rehabilitation of the offender. Although vindictive retribution has been the traditional method of protecting society, it is becoming more and more evident that, ultimately, the first function of the court can best be accomplished by the fulfillment of the second. Probation, unless definitely precluded by other considerations, holds out the best opportunity of accomplishing the second function.

Of great importance to the effectiveness of probation as a form of rehabilitative treatment is the degree of insight which the members of the bench have into its potentialities and limitations. Their method of selection of suitable persons for probation is of equal importance to the effective use of probation as the skill of the probation officer in effecting treatment.

The probation officer has to accept the dual responsibility which is vested in the court. He must do everything in his power to see that society is protected from further offences on the part of the probationer. But so long as the probationer is abiding by the law, and the conditions imposed by the court, the officer's *major focus is on the social rehabilitation of the offender*. In working towards this end, the probation officer, although an agent of authority, should at no time become an agent of punishment.

Further, he must learn to use his authority as a helpful tool in treatment. In studying the effective use of authority, the following points seem of prime importance.

All persons come into conflict with authority from time to time. This conflict results in an emotional reaction on their part, usually negative. Probationers are no exception. For most who come under the supervision of a probation officer the degree of conflict is not sufficiently great to hamper substantially the quality of the relationship with the probation officer — the relationship which is the cornerstone of probation supervision. The rules may bind, the restrictions be inconvenient, but most probationers are mature enough to realize that they are the authors of their own misfortune and, as a result, can accept the restrictions without too much bitterness and hostility. They are able to work constructively with the officer, and use him as a source of help in resolving their problems.

Some probationers are able to see probation fairly objectively, and live within the conditions faithfully, but prefer to keep their own counsel, working out their problems themselves. So long as they are living within the terms of the recognizance, this is their right, and the probation officer is doing a disservice if he attempts to pressure them into becoming dependent on him, if they do not voluntarily seek his help. However, he should point out that his counselling services are available if desired.

Others, for reasons noted earlier in this paper, are unable to view their status clearly. Like the horse being broken to the halter, the more restricted they feel, the harder they fight. When a probationer has this problem, it is an important hurdle which must be surmounted before the officer can help effect a change in the probationer's behaviour.

This is not accomplished by a set of fancy techniques. It is accomplished by the sincere interest the probation officer shows in the individual he is supervising; by his recognition that some probationers have to test the limits of their status and their supervisor. The supervisor should accept this need to test as long as it is within the limits set by law. He must also realize that the probationer, in testing, is reacting against him as a symbol of authority rather than as a person. He should try to help the probationer come, at the appropriate time, to see what he is doing, and why he is doing it. Most important in resolving this problem is the character of the probation officer himself; the kind of person he is, and what he stands for; his own recognition and acceptance of the reality of authority; the degree of comfort with which he accepts not only temporal authority, but the sincerity with which he lives within the concepts and teachings of the ultimate authority.

¹ Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *The Common Law*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938.

² McRuer, J. C. "Sentences". *Canadian Bar Review*. November 1949.

³ Barnes, H. E. and Teeters, N. K. *New Horizons in Criminology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950.

⁴ McRuer, J. C., *op. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Italicis mine.

⁷ United Nations. *Probation and Related Measures*. 1951.

⁸ Canada. Royal Commission to Investigate the Penal System of Canada. *Report*. (Archambault Report). Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938.

⁹ National Probation and Parole Association. *Guides for Sentencing*. 1957.

¹⁰ McRuer, J. C., *op. cit.*

¹¹ United Nations, *op. cit.*

M. Outerbridge, ayant pour fonction de former les agents de surveillance de l'Ontario, ébauche la philosophie et les buts de la liberté surveillée et traite de la méthode par laquelle l'agent de surveillance utilise son autorité dans ses rapports avec les libérés sous sa surveillance.

THEY STEAL FOR LOVE. By Anthony Weaver. New York: International Universities Press Inc. pp. 132. Price \$4.00.

Mr. Anthony Weaver was for four years warden of Lammas House, a home for the reception of children charged as being beyond control or convicted of an indictable offence. Lammas House is situated on the outskirts of a village in farming country about twenty-five miles from London.

In his book Mr. Weaver gives us stimulating information concerning the successes and failures during what he considers four of the most rewarding years of his life.

He points out that a child's insecurity is due to anxiety about his primary relationships — his place in the family and the affection of his parents. This anxiety gives rise to aggression which may take the form of bullying, destructiveness or thieving, and other behaviour symptoms. Aggression is followed by guilt feelings which so increase the initial anxiety that the vicious circle is completed.

The fundamental way to break the circle is to make the child feel he is appreciated. Lammas House provides the children with love, care, companionship and relationship in a tolerant, supportive and most understanding environment.

The methods which have been successful are outlined.

The group plan is used constructively to enable the child to establish relationships, perhaps for the first time in his life, with a grown-up and with other children. Time for long stretches of play is provided to enable the child to gain friendship and acceptance by contemporaries. Companionship in a group enables the child to measure himself against his fellows and to begin to get a more objective idea of his capabilities and the consequences of his actions.

Opportunities are provided for constructive and creative work, and the development of intellectual interests.

Provision is also made for individual psychotherapy and counselling. Their experience suggests that an important function of the psychiatrist is to try to get the child to admit and recognize the reality of his problems and to rise above the parental deficiencies in his life.

This book is of interest to the layman as it offers an absorbing human story. It could also be used for teaching purposes through proper presentation of the social history material which it contains.

It is, however, of greatest value to the professional people and administrators in child welfare who are searching for solutions to the emotionally disturbed child. There is a definite need in Canada for treatment centres offering similar facilities, and this document of Mr. Weaver's experiences will be invaluable in planning such projects.

W. H. IRVINE

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CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY. By Richard K. Korn and Lloyd W. McCorkle. New York: The Henry Holt and Company, Incorporated, 1959. pp. 644. Price \$6.50.

Perhaps the first impression one gains from this book is its size. It is not short nor is it light reading. It is a reference book concerned with the essentials and elements of criminology and penology. The authors modestly suggest that it fulfils a need for a standard course. The function however could easily be expanded to cover a greater variety of uses, and its contents would suggest a wealth of material for anyone remotely concerned with these fields.

It is well written from both the point of view of clarity and interest. Though certain parts become vague and confusing, these are sufficiently short and isolated so that the over-all effect is that of an interesting and educational book.

Unfortunately there are certain aspects which tend to be dated, and isolate the value of the contents. Statistics dealing with the contemporary setting familiar to the authors are quoted with considerable regularity. There is no denying the value of statistics but those of 1958 are outdated in 1962. Perhaps a less liberal use of statistics might have achieved as effective a result. Secondly, the contemporary setting known to the authors — New Jersey, and to a lesser extent the United States — could perhaps have been broadened out more to the international or European setting to provide a greater variety of knowledge and interest. To both Canadian and British readers the book is in this sense too local and contemporary in its contents.

The book becomes a vivid illustration in both the practical and theoretical background of the authors, but this is more keenly illustrated, at least to this writer, in the second part which deals with penology. Of particular note are the chapters on the "World of Officials" and the "World of Inmates".

In short, this is a good book to have around both as an introduction and a general reference for these subjects.

GERALD ALTON

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HYPNOANALYSIS. By Lewis R. Wolberg. New York: Grove Press, 1960. pp. xviii + 342. Price \$2.45 (Paperback).

This book begins with the statement that "there is an urgent need in psychiatry for an abbreviated form of therapy applicable to patients who are unable to avail themselves of prolonged treatment". The thesis subsequently developed is that psychoanalysis, in practice an expensive, time-consuming and almost inaccessible therapy, could be made shorter and more accessible by the addition of hypnosis.

Hypnoanalysis is not a new form of therapy. Freud and Breuer, and more recently, Lindner and Kubie, have described similar procedures. Wolberg's book, however, is the only systematic statement about current hypnoanalytic procedures, their applicability and efficacy. *Hypnoanalysis* is divided into two parts — the first, "The Hypnoanalysis of Johan R.", and the second, the "Theory and Practice of Hypnoanalysis".

The first part contains a long (158 pp.) and rather confused exposition of Wolberg's attempt at hypnoanalysis with a hebephrenic schizophrenic. Wolberg reports the patient's dreams, automatic writings and drawings in response to hypnotic suggestion. This material is combined with dream interpretations, more anamnestic material and vague statements about hypnoanalytic procedures, with the whole arranged in chronological order. Throughout, there is no statement of the therapeutic aims involved, nor any clear evaluation of therapeutic progress as the analysis continues. Case material is thrown up, briefly analyzed and let fall with

no indication of theoretical or empirical support for the interpretations, nor any rationale for scrutinizing particular elements of the case material. The critical reader needs some knowledge of the basis upon which "significant" material is identified, evaluated, interpreted and utilized therapeutically.

Empirical and theoretical considerations are more in evidence in the second section on theory and practice. There is an extensively documented chapter on hypnoanalytic procedures including dream induction, automatic writing, hypnotic drawing and dramatics under hypnosis. Considerable attention is devoted to the value of hypnosis in recalling buried memories and to the problems of resistance and transference. Cases of neurotic mannerisms, tics and compulsions cured in a few hypnoanalytic sessions are cited. However, the author has a penchant for unqualified statements (e.g. references to "laws" of repression and regression) which imply that psychoanalysis is based on scientifically developed principles. The reader must know that the whole structure of psychoanalytic theory and practice rests on shaky empirical foundations.

Hypnoanalysis could have benefited from more extensive reference to orthodox psychoanalytic thought. The reader needs to know, for example, that Freud abandoned hypnosis because he found that all patients could not be hypnotized and that those who could achieved only temporary cures. Such analysts as Freud, Breuer, and Fenichel have frequently stated (see especially Fenichel's *Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*) that even if hypnosis can be induced the temporary cures effected are essentially limited to symptom removal. The feeling of orthodox psychoanalysts is that resistance in analysis may be overcome by hypnotic techniques and thereby provide useful material, but the therapeutic value of this activity is felt to be very limited. The patient needs to work through the history that necessitated the ego to develop its conflicts. Wolberg does not provide any effective answer to the charges frequently laid against the widespread use of hypnosis. There are a few counter assertions but no systematic treatment of the limitations of hypnosis and, as might be expected, no empirical support for the effectiveness of hypnoanalysis.

If there is an urgent need in psychiatry for an abbreviated form of therapy there is an equally urgent need for a therapy which can base its applicability and claims of success on extensive empirical evaluation. Hypnoanalysis is not that form of therapy nor is it ever likely to be as its proponents seem content to justify its use solely with expressions of faith.

REGINALD SMART

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Toronto.*

PROJECTIVE PSYCHOLOGY; CLINICAL APPROACHES TO THE HUMAN PERSONALITY. By Lawrence E. Abt and Leopold Bellak (Eds.). New York: Grove Press, Second Edition 1959. pp. xvi + 485 + xiv. Price \$5.00 (Cloth).

This is a compendium dealing with the major projective techniques. In Part I the theoretical bases of projective psychology are outlined in separate chapters by each of the two editors. Part II consists of ten essays on the Rorschach, the T.A.T., the Mosaic Test, the Figure Drawing Test, the Szondi, the Bender-Gestalt Test, the Sentence Completion Test, and the use of finger painting as a diagnostic method. Part III deals with nonclinical applications of projective methods.

This book should be very useful to those who seek a general introduction to the clinical use of projective tests. It not only describes the principles of the tests but gives an adequate account of their use. Although no really critical examination of the tests is offered their limitations are recognized, and the mixture of enthusiastic appreciation and reasonable caution makes the book a good introduction to the subject.

R. J. GIBBINS

Toronto.

YOUTH AND CRIME. By F. Cohen. New York: International Universities Press. pp. 273. Prix: \$6.00.

“Youth and Crime” est une publication où paraissent les procès-verbaux présentés par l’Institut pour l’application de la Loi, Université de New-York, en juillet 1955, au sujet des problèmes de la Jeunesse et de la Criminalité.

Ont participé à cette tâche un grand nombre d’individus et d’organismes qui s’intéressent activement au problème des jeunes délinquants. Ce problème est envisagé selon le point de vue des psychologues, des fonctionnaires de l’ordre judiciaire, des sociologues, des représentants des institutions pénitentiaires et des bureaux de réhabilitation sociale, etc.

Les procès-verbaux de l’Institut concernent en premier lieu la situation actuelle aux Etats-Unis, mais les principes fondamentaux pouvant s’appliquer partout, à divers degrés, la philosophie qui s’en dégage présente donc une valeur et un intérêt très grands pour tous ceux qui recherchent la solution de ce problème.

Les données statistiques qui figurent au début de cet ouvrage sont essentielles à la compréhension des pages suivantes car elles mettent en relief la nature complexe de ce problème. Pour obtenir une interprétation exacte du terme "jeune délinquant", pour comprendre l'envergure du problème, analyser les tendances, il est nécessaire de disposer de renseignements de source sûre et aussi complets que possible. Malheureusement, ni le Federal Bureau of Investigation, ni le Bureau de la Jeunesse (Youth Office) des Etats-Unis ne sont en mesure de fournir la statistique nécessaire. Par exemple, sur 3,000 Cours juvéniles, seules 200 fournissent des données statistiques.

De plus, on ne peut différencier ceux qui ont été jugés délinquants de ceux qui ne le sont pas (souvent 40 p. cent du total). Cependant, malgré la valeur incertaine de la statistique, le problème du jeune délinquant n'en existe pas moins. Les chapitres suivants nous exposent le problème, la diversité de ses causes, et les moyens par lesquels on peut porter remède à cette situation. On note, par exemple, à l'origine du problème, l'importance capitale des relations entre les parents et les enfants, et les causes qui contribuent à fausser l'épanouissement de la personnalité. Il s'agit là d'une situation très complexe qui nécessite le concours d'un personnel compétent, c'est-à-dire, l'aide d'un psychiatre et d'un psychologue.

Ensuite, l'éducation scolaire est passée en revue; il faut admettre que, souvent, les difficultés que rencontre un élève pour s'instruire, peuvent être la cause d'une conduite antisociale.

Le nombre de ceux qui s'intéressent au problème devient de plus en plus grand si l'on songe aux sources de conflits que peuvent constituer pour les jeunes gens, les différences d'idéologie, de culture, de religion, d'ordre économique, que l'on constate dans le milieu où ils vivent.

Cet ouvrage étudie également les méthodes appliquées par les agents de police et les Cours de justice (cours juvéniles?), ainsi que les effets bons ou mauvais qui en résultent.

Nous arrivons ensuite aux bureaux de réhabilitation, publics et privés, qui, pour la plupart, fonctionnent indépendamment l'un de l'autre. "Ce manque de coordination crée des conflits d'intérêts et une atmosphère compétitive malsaine lorsqu'il s'agit de se faire connaître et d'obtenir des fonds du public, afin de pouvoir offrir ses services à certains groupes de la communauté." Il est bien connu que les bureaux qui essaient de faire de leur mieux sont bien souvent en difficulté par suite d'une grave pénurie de cliniques psychiatriques. Il est possible que les 8,000 psychiatres des Etats-Unis s'intéressent, pour la plupart, de plus près à l'argent qu'à l'humanité.

En résumé, la lecture de ces documents nous aide à mieux comprendre un problème très complexe et nous indique la nécessité d'un effort général pour offrir à la jeunesse désemparée une aide qui soit vraiment efficace.

Nous recommandons chaleureusement cet ouvrage à tous ceux qui s'intéressent de près à ce problème!

FRANK PULIDO

Toronto.

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